Abbott Lawrence

MEMOIR

OF

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

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ABBOTT LAWRENCE

BY

HAMILTON ANDREWS HILL

WITH AN APPENDIX

SECOND EDITION

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TO

The Memory

OF

ABBOTT LAWRENCE

(THIRD OF THE NAME)

THIS MEMOIR

OF

HIS GRANDFATHER

IS

INSCRIBED.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

When Mr. Lawrence died, in 1855, a public meeting of the citizens of Boston was held in Faneuil Hall, at which Mr. Everett and Mr. Winthrop made addresses; and brief memoirs were written, one by Mr. Prescott at the request of the family, and one by Mr. Nathan Appleton for the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was the expectation that these would be followed by a more extended biography, for which ample material existed in the letters and papers left by Mr. Lawrence. This work was postponed for various reasons, and in 1872 the larger part of the papers and correspondence which had been depended upon for the purpose was destroyed in the great Boston fire.

In 1880 the New England Historic Genealogical Society commenced the publication of the lives of its deceased members, to be printed in a series of volumes at the expense of the Towne Memorial Fund, and the writer prepared a biographical sketch of Mr. Lawrence for the second volume. He was confined of necessity, in his treatment of the subject, within narrow limits, and was able to make use of a portion only of the material which he had brought together by an examination of the newspapers, and from other sources of information. It was suggested, therefore, that he should rewrite and amplify what he

had prepared for the Historic Genealogical Society. This he has done, and he now presents a somewhat fuller record of Mr. Lawrence's life and career than has yet appeared, with such of his addresses and public letters as are extant, and as seem to be of permanent interest. Some of the more important of his despatches while Minister to England will be found in the Appendix, — together with the Letters on the Tariff, addressed to Mr. Rives, which have long been out of print.

In 1832 Mr. Lawrence sat to Chester Harding for his portrait. A copy of this, by Moses Wight, was sent to London in 1856 to be engraved by Francis Holl; and from one of his proofs (the plate having been destroyed) impressions have been taken by the heliotype process for this Memoir.

The author desires to make acknowledgment of the valuable aid which he has received from Mr. Abbott Lawrence. A warm interest in the progress of the Memoir was also manifested by Abbott Lawrence, the grandson, whose recent death is sincerely mourned by many friends outside his immediate circle, and of whom it will be altogether appropriate to make brief mention here. Graduating at Harvard College in 1875, he spent two years in the Law School at Cambridge, and took his LL.B. in 1877. In August of the same year he started on a journey round the world, from which he returned in the summer of 1879, and a year later he was admitted to the bar. He kept a journal of his travels in Asia and the East, which he afterward carefully revised. The result of his observation abroad was to deepen his attachment for and appreciation of his own country, and to strengthen his purpose to serve it in every way within his power. He joined the volunteer militia of the State,

and became an active member of General Sutton's staff. He took a profound interest in politics, both local and national, and was in full sympathy with all efforts for their elevation and purification. He could not understand the feelings of those who manifest no concern about public affairs, and who are indifferent to the results of elections. To him it meant much to be a citizen, and he would have shrunk from none of the responsibilities of citizenship to which he might have been called had he lived longer. His future seemed full of promise; but his sun was to sink below the horizon while it was yet day. Insidious disease had taken hold upon him, and, almost before its presence was suspected, the worst symptoms began to show themselves. He sought a milder climate, but in vain; and on the 15th of March last, at Nassau, New Providence, he passed away. He was twenty-eight years of age on the 16th of January preceding. We must believe that the event of his death was divinely, and therefore wisely, ordered.

"But who shall so forecast the years,
And find in loss a gain to match?
Or reach a hand through time to catch
The far-off interest of tears?"

Boston, December 29, 1882.

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

When the first edition of this Memoir appeared, which had been printed for private distribution, the wish was expressed by some who had known Mr. Lawrence personally, and by others who remembered with interest his prominence and usefulness in various walks of life, that a wider circulation should be given to the work than had been anticipated or attempted for it. Its publication at this time is in response to this wish. The Memoir has been carefully revised, and several additions have been made to it. It contains a more complete account of Mr. George Peabody's dinner, given in London at the close of the International Exhibition of 1851, with the speech made by Mr. Lawrence on that occasion, and a fuller record of the tributes to his public services and private character, which, on both sides of the Atlantic, were called forth by his death.

Boston, February 16, 1884.

MEMOIR.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE. — BIRTH. — EDUCATION.

The circumstances are altogether exceptional which call for the preparation of a new memoir of one whose death took place a quarter of a century ago; and the character and career must be regarded also as exceptional which, after the lapse of such a period, are found to be no less interesting and suggestive as a study than at the first. The hour of bereavement, when the personal or public loss is freshly and most keenly felt, is not always favorable for a comprehensive and impartial estimate of conduct or service. The time comes later when the judgment can act broadly and without bias, and when, upon a careful consideration of the completed life as a whole, an opinion can be formed which shall be both just and abiding.

"The glory dies not, and the grief is past."

Much of that which was merely local or transitory may be either forgotten or made subordinate in the review; but all that was truly excellent will stand out in bolder and grander relief. Fortunate is the reputation which will bear the tests applied by a succeeding generation, and whose brightness does not diminish as the years roll on. Such a reputation is that which Abbott Lawrence left behind him, upon which his associates and contemporaries

placed a high estimate, but which loses nothing from among the eminent qualities accorded to it by them, when regarded under different circumstances and from another and a more distant point of view. A field which has been harvested by Prescott and Appleton, by Winthrop and Everett, has only scant gleanings for any one who may follow after. In the present work we must depend largely upon the material laid up in store by these authorities; whatever we may derive from other and later sources of information will be seen to justify their judgment and to confirm their award.

The family of the Lawrences, which has become so prominently identified with the county of Suffolk, in New England, had long been settled in the county of the same name in the mother-land. The Puritan ancestor, John Lawrence, emigrated to Massachusetts in 1635, settling first in Watertown, and removing in 1660 to Groton, where he lived to a good old age, and at his death left a numerous family of sons and daughters. From one of the former of these Samuel Lawrence was descended,— a man of high character, influential among his fellow-townsmen, and a soldier of the Revolution. He was born April 24, 1754; and on the 22nd of July, 1777, he married Susanna, daughter of William Parker of Groton. He fought by the side of Colonel Prescott at Bunker Hill; and the musket which he carried in that battle is now in the possession of his great-grandson, Mr. Prescott Lawrence. At one time during the war he commanded a company, the rank and file of which were all negroes, of whose courage, military discipline, and fidelity he always spoke with respect. On one occasion, being out reconnoitring with this company, and going too far in advance of his command, he found himself surrounded by the enemy, and was on the point of being made a prisoner. The men, discovering his peril, rushed to his rescue, and fought with the most determined bravery until that rescue

was secured. He never forgot this circumstance, and always took especial pains to show kindness and hospitality to individuals of the colored race. He died November 8, 1827. His wife was a woman of strong sense, clear judgment, and indomitable energy. Like most of the women of that day, she was an ardent patriot, espousing the cause of the Colonies with intense devotion. From a hill in the rear of her father's house in Concord,[1] she saw the British troops enter that village on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775; and she remained there until she saw them pass out in the afternoon, a retreating and baffled foe.

Abbott Lawrence,[2] the subject of the present memoir, was the fifth son of Samuel and Susanna Lawrence. He was born in Groton, on the 16th of December, 1792; and he received his education at the district school and at the academy of the town. His father had for many years been a trustee of this academy, and it has always retained the regard and interest of various members of the family. In grateful recognition of the benefactions received from them, it is now called the Lawrence Academy. Judged by modern standards, the opportunities for education afforded by such an institution might seem meagre enough; but estimating them by the achievements of many of those who received no other training before entering upon the responsibilities of manhood, it must be admitted that the quickening of the intelligence, the habit of independent thought, and the capability for acquiring further knowledge by unaided personal effort in subsequent years,

[1] Her mother had married a second time and removed to Concord.

[2] Mr. Lawrence received the family name of his paternal grandmother, Abigail Abbott, daughter of Nehemiah Abbott of Lexington, Massachusetts. (The Abbotts emigrated from Featherstone, Yorkshire, England, where they had been settled for many generations.) She was married to Amos Lawrence of Groton (father of Samuel Lawrence, and grandfather of Abbott Lawrence), in 1749. A hall clock, given to her by her father on her marriage, has descended with the name to the present generation. On its brass face is engraved, "Brand, Boston [England]," and the four corners are ornamented with a crown.

which were developed by these country academies, and the general equipment for the battle of practical life which they furnished, show them to have been schools of no common character. Mr. Lawrence enjoyed nothing in the way of educational advantages beyond this; but he evidently improved the time, and turned all that he received to the best account. While he was a student in the academy Mr. Caleb Butler was the preceptor. This good man lived long enough to participate in the celebration and reunion of 1854, on which occasion he received the greetings of many of his old pupils, among whom were Mr. Lawrence, the Hon. Amos Kendall, the Rev. Dr. James Walker, the Hon. Joel Parker, and the Hon. John P. Bigelow. Mr. Lawrence made a speech full of pleasant reminiscences. Referring to Mr. Butler, he said: —

"I desire to thank God that he is able to be with us to-day, at the age of seventy-eight, and to express publicly my obligations for the sound instruction I received from him. The inhabitants of Groton are greatly indebted to Mr. Butler for his labors in their behalf; but, above all, for the eminent example he has set them during a residence of a full half century, in his love of truth and justice, and in his integrity of character in all the relations of life. A sweet aroma hangs about his name, which, I doubt not, will endure long after he and all of us shall have passed away."

Addressing the pupils of the Academy, he remarked: —

"My young friends, remember that you possess advantages in this institution now, that did not exist anywhere in this Commonwealth forty years ago. Remember that the present is the time for improvement. Cultivate industry, integrity, economy, and perseverance. Let your sentiments be open and manly, guided by virtuous desires. Let your aims be high. Never be discouraged. And do not forget, wherever your lot may be cast, — let none of us, old or young, forget, — this day, or the good old town of Groton."

CHAPTER II.

REMOVAL TO BOSTON. — FIRM OF A. & A. LAWRENCE. — FIRST VISIT TO EUROPE. — MARRIAGE.

In 1808 Abbott was sent to Boston, and was placed as an apprentice in the warehouse of his elder brother, Mr. Amos Lawrence, who was already well established in business. During the five or six succeeding years he prepared himself in this subordinate position, by steady application and fidelity, for the weighty responsibilities which were soon to come upon him as a principal, and such leisure as he could control he devoted to reading and study. In 1814, just after his coming of age, he was admitted to partnership, and the firm of A. & A. Lawrence was founded, which, for the next half-century, was to stand as a tower of strength among the business men of Boston. Its place of business at the time was in what is now a part of Washington Street; afterwards it was in Cornhill, then known as Market Street; later it was in Liberty Square; and in 1845 it was removed to a building in Milk Street, on the corner of Bath Street as it then was, erected by Mr. Lawrence for the use of his firm, and destroyed in the conflagration of 1872.[1]

[1] The street now known as Cornhill, between Washington Street and Court Street, was laid out in 1817, and was called Market Street. At that time, according to Drake, what was known as Cornhill lay between "Marlborough Street and Colson's stone house." Market Street received the name of Cornhill in 1828.

Bath Street was first called Tanner's Lane, after the tanneries in it; afterward, Horn Lane, because of its crookedness; and later (1807) it took the name of Bath Street, from the baths which were there. Drake describes it thus: "From Milk

When the new firm was established, however, the times were by no means propitious. The United States was in the midst of the last war with Great Britain, and after a few months the prospect for the future seemed so uncertain and unpromising that Abbott proposed to withdraw from the business and to enter the army. He had been an active member of the New England Guards, one of the leading independent companies of the day; and in the condition of affairs at the time, the profession of arms seemed to him to offer a career full of enterprise and usefulness. With the consent of his brother, he applied to the War Department for a commission; but, happily, before an answer could be received the news of peace arrived, and at once he abandoned all thought of a military life. This he always regarded as a providential interposition in his behalf. A very different and a happier destiny was awaiting him.

The enterprising brothers were quick to see and to improve the opportunity which the return of peace opened to them.[1] Merchandise of every kind was scarce and dear

Street, N. to Water Street (1708), between Major Walley's and Mr. Bridgham's land."

The style and address of the firm are given in some of the old Boston Directories as follows: 1809, 1810, Amos Lawrence (shop keeper), 31 Cornhill; 1813, Amos Lawrence (dry goods), 46 Cornhill; 1816, Amos & Abbott Lawrence (merchants), 16 Central Street; 1818, 1820, A. &. A. Lawrence (dry goods), 15 Market Street; 1821, 1822, 1823, A. & A. Lawrence (English goods), 15 Market Street; 1825, A. & A. Lawrence & Co. (Lambert Dexter) (merchants), 15 Market Street; 1826, 1827, 1828, A. & A. Lawrence & Co. (merchants), 11 Liberty Square.

[1] The business men of Boston had maintained their financial credit nobly during the gloomy period of the war, and in all the trying years which had preceded it. They were, therefore, in a most favorable position for taking advantage of the improved condition of affairs which came with the return of peace. In the summer of 1815 we find gold and silver and Boston bank-notes quoted in the prices-current of other cities at the same rates, while their own notes were at a heavy discount.

Colonel Perkins wrote as follows to his Canton house, under date of October 4, 1815: "Three years of war, and twice that number of restrictions upon commerce, had made our people very rigidly economical; and they bought only what was necessary, not what was luxurious. In place of a silk gown or pelisse, they purchased cotton for the first, and dispensed with the last altogether. So with tea. Although they did not wholly forego it, they were careful in the use of it; and now, to make up for lost time, they feel as if they may indulge in the fashions of the city, and

in the United States. They were importers, and, their capital and credit being abundant, it was determined that Abbott should immediately embark for Europe to purchase goods for this market. He sailed in the ship *Milo*, Captain Stephen Glover, one of the first vessels which left Boston for England after the proclamation of peace. "The passage was a short one, but long enough for Mr. Lawrence to ingratiate himself not only with the officers but with the crew, whose good-will he secured by his liberal acts no less than by the kindness of his manners. With characteristic ardor, he was the first to leap on shore; being thus, perhaps, the first American who touched his fatherland after the war was ended. He met with a cordial welcome from people who were glad to see their commercial relations restored with the United States. Hastening to Manchester, Mr. Lawrence speedily made his purchases, and returned to Liverpool the evening only before the departure of the *Milo* on her homeward voyage. He at once engaged a lighter to take him and his merchandise to the vessel. When he came alongside, the mate plainly told him there was no room for his goods; the cargo was all on board, and the hatches were battened down. But Mr. Lawrence would receive no denial. This, he said, was his first voyage, and the result was of the greatest importance to him. He pressed his suit with so much earnestness, yet good-nature, that the mate, whose good-will he had won on the passage, consented at last to receive the goods. Mr. Lawrence lost no time in profiting by this indulgence, and joined his men in pulling vigorously at the tackle to hoist the bales on board. Having safely lodged them on the deck, he made at once for the shore, asking no questions how they were to be stored.

gratify their palates with the beverage of the East. This being the case, it will take a long time to overstock the market with silks; though from the quantity of teas on hand when the war began, the importations since, and the economy spoken of in the use of it during the war, we think the spring ships will cause a great fall of it in the market." — *Memoir of Thomas H. Perkins*, p. 204.

The *Milo* had a short passage back. In eighty-four days from the time when she had left her port in the United States the goods were landed in Boston, and in less than a week were disposed of at an enormous profit. His brother was delighted with the good judgment he had shown, and his extraordinary despatch."

"This anecdote," says Mr. Prescott, in whose language we have given it, "is eminently characteristic of the man, showing as it does the sanguine temper and energy of will which, combined with kindness of heart, gained him an influence over others, and formed the elements of his future success."

Mr. Lawrence remained abroad for some time on the occasion of this his first trip, and made a visit to the Continent, where he saw the allied armies immediately after the battle of Waterloo. Subsequently he made other voyages to Europe. Afterwards Mr. Lambert Dexter went to London as the resident partner of the firm, and remained there until 1832.

On the 28th of June, 1819, Mr. Lawrence was married to Katharine, eldest daughter of the Hon. Timothy Bigelow, a distinguished lawyer and public man, formerly of Groton, then of Medford, who was at the time, as for many years previously he had been, Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Of this marriage Mr. Prescott says: "It was a most happy union, continuing for more than thirty-five years, until it was dissolved by death. In the partner of his choice he found the qualities of a true and loving wife, ever ready to share with him all his joys and sorrows, — for the lot of the most fortunate has its sorrows, and sharp ones. These feelings he, on his part, returned from first to last with the warmth and single-hearted devotion which belonged to his noble nature."

CHAPTER III.

THE RISE OF LOWELL. — RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION. — THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY IN 1837.

The power-loom was introduced into the United States by Mr. Francis C. Lowell, in 1814. In the autumn of that year it was put into successful operation in the Waltham Mill, which had been erected for the purpose by Mr. Lowell, Mr. Patrick T. Jackson, Mr. Nathan Appleton, and other gentlemen. Under the influence of the War of 1812 the manufacture of cotton goods in New England had largely increased, but the methods as yet were very imperfect. The return of peace gave the movement temporarily a severe check. It took a fresh start in connection with the improved machinery then coming into general use, and made a prosperous advance under the tariff of 1816, which Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Lowndes were so prominent in framing into law, and in connection with which Mr. Clay first appeared as the advocate of "a thorough and decided protection to home manufactures by ample duties." A few years later the foundations of the city of Lowell were laid. Mr. Appleton has left a record of his first visit to the site on the banks of the Merrimac, which had been selected for the future city. It was in the month of November, 1821, and a slight snow covered the ground. Mr. Patrick T. Jackson, Mr. Kirk Boott, and others, were of the party. "We perambulated the grounds," says Mr. Appleton, "and scanned the capabilities of the place, and the remark was made

that some of us might live to see the place contain twenty thousand inhabitants. At that time there were, I think, less than a dozen houses on what now constitutes the city of Lowell, or, rather, the thickly settled parts of it."

Messrs. A. & A. Lawrence soon engaged largely in the sale of cotton and woollen goods of domestic manufacture, but they did not become interested in the mills at Lowell until 1830. "On the establishment of the Suffolk, Tremont, and Lawrence Companies, as well as subsequently in other corporations, they became large proprietors. From this time their business as selling agents was on the most extensive scale, and their income from all sources large in proportion." [1]

Mr. Lawrence's interest in the work of railroad construction in New England was hardly less than in the establishment and extension of its manufacturing system. So enterprising and sagacious a business man as he could not fail to foresee, and in good measure to appreciate, the benefits which the new facilities for transportation would surely bring to his own city as well as to the country at large; and we find, as we might expect, that he was earnest and enthusiastic and among the foremost in promoting the success of the various trunk-lines as they were projected. He subscribed liberally to all of them, with reference more to the indirect than to the direct profits from his investment in them, and he favored always

[1] A letter from a Southern gentleman, who had just been travelling in New England, may be found in "Niles' Weekly Register" of November 11, 1826, which gives an interesting view of the manufactures of these States, particularly in cotton, at that time. There were then 280,000 spindles, running on the average 280 days in the year, and consuming each half a pound of raw cotton *per diem*, which is 140 pounds to the spindle *per annum*, equal to 98,000 bales of cotton. There were 400 buildings; "about one third of these buildings," says the writer of the letter, "weave by power looms, one other third carry on the weaving by hand, perhaps rather more; and the others spin and send off the yarn to the Middle or Western States, where it is either woven by hand, under contractors, as around Philadelphia, or in families, as in the Western Country."

At the beginning of the year 1882 the cotton-mills of New England contained between nine and ten million spindles, consuming at the rate of from twelve to fourteen hundred thousand bales of cotton *per annum*.

the broadest and most comprehensive plans. He was associated with Messrs. Thomas B. Wales, John Bryant, Joseph W. Revere, and others, in projecting the Boston and Providence Railroad; but his duties and responsibilities in connection with the Lowell mills made it impossible for him to serve as director in this or any other railroad corporation. One of the boldest undertakings of the time was the construction of the line between Worcester and Albany, called the Western Railroad. Captain Basil Hall, who travelled in the United States and Canada in 1827 and 1828, and who, in the language of Carlyle in one of his posthumous papers, acquired a kind of thin celebrity as a small lion for a time, recorded in the second volume of his Journals as follows: —

"We traversed a considerable portion of the route over which it has been seriously proposed, I was assured, to carry a railroad between the cities of Boston and Albany. No single State, much less any section of the Union, it seems, likes to be outdone by any other State; and this feeling of rivalry, stimulated by the success of the great Erie Canal, — an undertaking highly favored by nature, — has, I suppose, suggested the visionary project in question. In answer to the appeals frequently made to my admiration of this scheme, I was compelled to admit that there was much boldness in the conception; but I took the liberty of adding that I conceived the boldness lay in the conception alone, for if it were executed, its character would be changed into madness."

There were very sensible men, much nearer home, who took the same view; but there were others who could see further, and who would not be satisfied until they had made what they saw a reality to the faith and hope of the community around them.

In the progress of the final effort, which was made during the autumn of 1835, a large meeting was held in Faneuil Hall (October 7), at which Mr. Lawrence presided, and speeches were made by Edward Everett, Amasa

Walker, Henry Williams, and others. The remarks of Mr. Lawrence, on taking the chair, are reported in the "Commercial Gazette," as follows: —

"Mr. Lawrence said that two or three weeks ago a preliminary meeting had been held, and that a large committee was then appointed to take the whole subject into consideration, and to report thereon to a full meeting of citizens. That committee, after a full investigation, had prepared their Report, which would be presented for the consideration of the meeting. It was not his intention to enter fully into the merits of the question, because there were probably those present prepared to speak, who fully understood the subject, and who (he said) could discuss it much better than himself. He would, however, take occasion to give his opinion on the project, as a business man addressing a community of practical men.

"From the experience of the last few months with the railways now open from this city,[1] every man could judge of the benefits derived from them. The railroads, extending only a short distance into the interior, had already added greatly to the number of strangers in pursuit of business to the city. The plan in contemplation was to extend these railroads to the Hudson, and thence, through the great lakes, to the far West, the Southwest, and the South, embracing the vast valley of the Mississippi. The effect would be to double and quadruple the whole business of the city. The immense advantage to the city of New York of the great Western canals was a subject of universal notoriety. The opening of those canals in 1825 had the immediate effect of advancing real estate fifty per cent in the centre of that city, and of a still greater advance in the suburbs and vicinity.

"We had no great navigable waters running to this city, and such as we had ran the wrong way for the great purposes of business. But railroads were considered by many as even better than rivers. The object was to supply the place of great navigable rivers in all directions from this city by railroads. He was reluctant to say all he felt in regard to the advantages

[1] At this time two trains daily, each way, were running from Boston to Lowell, to Worcester, and to Providence, and to and from the last-named place there was the New York steamboat train in addition.

to be derived from these great thoroughfares, lest some who heard him should consider him as over-sanguine and visionary; but he was never more sincere in his life than in declaring it as his opinion that the proposed plan would be of immense advantage to the whole city. A railroad had been already projected from Albany to the Massachusetts line; another, from another point lower down the Hudson to the same point; and, recently, the people of Troy, jealous of the movements of their immediate neighbors of Albany, had also projected another to Stockbridge. The question then was, What is to be done here, to co-operate with these great schemes of internal improvement? It appeared clear to his mind that the people of Boston ought to unite their energies in the accomplishment of the good work. If every citizen would but take hold according to his means, it would be an easy task, and its speedy consummation might be anticipated. 'But,' continued Mr. Lawrence, 'without detaining the meeting longer, as there are others more competent to do justice to the subject, I will advert to a single other consideration. The proposed improvement will add another golden link to the great chain which binds this glorious Union together.'"

Mr. Lawrence truly represented the spirit and aim of the enterprising men who were pushing this great work, when he spoke of direct communication with the Mississippi valley. One of the resolutions adopted at the meeting described the proposed railroad as "between Boston and the western part of this State, and also between Massachusetts and New York and the Western States;" and Mr. Everett, in the course of his remarks, said: "Don't talk of reaching Buffalo, sir: talk of the Falls of St. Anthony and the Council Bluffs."[1] A large and influential committee was appointed, representing every

[1] Mr. Everett has given us his own recollections of this meeting, as follows: "Mr. Lawrence contributed efficiently to get up that meeting, and took a very active part in the measures proposed by it. It was my fortune to take some part in the proceedings. At the end of my speech, for which he had furnished me valuable materials and suggestions, he said to me, with that beaming smile which we all remember so well, 'Mr. Everett, we shall live to see the banks of the Upper Mississippi connected by iron bands with State Street.'"

ward in the city, which sought to reach personally and appeal directly to everybody interested in the commercial prosperity of Boston, "from the capitalist to the carman." Three months later, Mr. Everett, in his first message as Governor of the Commonwealth, had the happiness of congratulating the Legislature that the subscription of two millions to the capital stock of the company had been filled. The first subscription on the part of the State of a million dollars was authorized during the same session (1836). In the ten years which followed the completion of the line to Albany, and which also witnessed the establishment of the Cunard Steamship Company at the port of Boston, the taxable valuation of the city increased from sixty million to ninety million dollars, and the foreign importations from fourteen million to twenty-eight million dollars.[1]

In the midst of pressing business duties and cares, Mr. Lawrence found time, as will be seen more particularly as we proceed with our narrative, for a careful study of public affairs. On the completion of his first term of congressional service, a large number of his constituents invited him to meet them at a public dinner to be given in his honor. The letter of invitation (March 22, 1837) was signed by Thomas B. Curtis, Henry Edwards, James K. Mills, James Read, Andrew T. Hall, and others, and made reference to the more important questions of the day in which he had especially interested himself while at Washington. His reply, in which he sketched the condition of the country at the time in its industrial and financial aspects, may appropriately be given here.

Boston, March 25, 1837.

Gentlemen, — Your letter of the 22nd inst. I received last evening, inviting me, in behalf of a number of my late constitu-

[1] The following are some of the statistics of the commerce of Boston for 1835: Foreign arrivals, 1,302; Coastwise arrivals, 3,879; Foreign clearances, 1,225; Coastwise clearances, 2,900; Receipts of flour, 408,569 bbls., of cotton, 80,709 bales, and of corn, 948,115 bush., all water-borne.

ents, to accept of a public dinner which you have been pleased to say is tendered to me as a testimony of respect for my private, and an approval of my public, character.

This unexpected demonstration of esteem and confidence, coming from those with whom I have been associated for years, even from the day that I first entered this city, a poor, unknown, and friendless boy, fills me with the deepest sensibility and demands my most grateful and profound acknowledgments.

When I accepted the high and important trust of representing this district in Congress, I well knew the responsibility I had assumed, and did not take it upon myself without much solicitude, distrusting my ability to fulfil the reasonable expectations of my friends. I felt that great indulgence would be extended to me in consequence of my entire want of experience, never having been before a member of a legislative body; but I could not forget the distinguished individuals who had preceded me, all of them eminent for their talents, acquirements, and practical information. I took my seat in Congress with a full knowledge of my deficiencies, but with a feeling of patriotic devotion to the public interests, which I fondly hoped would sustain me, not only in the House, but with my constituents and the country. If the trust confided to me by the people of this district has been discharged to their satisfaction, it is the highest reward that can be conferred upon me.

In the discharge of my public duties, it has been my fate to entertain opinions differing from those of the late Executive and a majority of Congress; and in speaking of some of the measures of the late administration, I beg to be understood as meaning no personal disrespect to General Jackson or any other individual: I shall briefly comment upon measures and not men.

I have always kept in view in legislation those principles which would carry home to the MANY the greatest amount of prosperity and happiness, believing that the FEW can always take care of themselves. Who are the many? Are they not farmers, mechanics, traders, and laborers? And who are the few? Are they not the money-holders and money-lenders of the country? The latter class can transfer their persons and property to any given place in or out of the country, having means always about them to do so. It is not the case with the former class: a farmer cannot remove his farm, nor the mechanic

his shop. The wealth of the country is founded in its labor, and in giving security to the labor we protect the property of the whole country.

A system of measures has been recommended by the late Executive, and some of them adopted, which are now in a course of development, that will tend to place an undue proportion of the property of the country in the hands of overgrown capitalists at the expense of the other classes of society. The present state of the currency is a perfect illustration of this position; and the question now is, What have been the causes of its deranged condition throughout the Union? There are different opinions in regard to the causes, but none as to the effects. The most reasonable explanation may perhaps be found in a series of measures, commencing with General Jackson's veto of the charter of the Bank of the United States in 1832, followed by a removal of the public money in 1833. The moment the charter of the Bank was vetoed, an expectation prevailed that it would be forced to wind up its concerns on the 4th March, 1836, and a large number of banks were chartered in several of the States. In October, 1833, the Public Deposits were removed, and placed, if my memory serves me, as soon as it could conveniently be done, in thirty-six banks, over which the Government had not the least control, and all acting independently of each other.

While they remained in the Bank of the United States, they were employed throughout the country for legitimate commercial purposes, but when they were placed in these thirty-six independent institutions, a large amount of the Government money took a new direction; it was completely withdrawn from the regular channels of trade, causing a great scarcity, which stimulated the chartering by the States of more banks in 1834. This, together with an intimation from the Executive that we must have a metallic currency, caused heavy loans to be negotiated abroad by the deposit banks, and specie was brought into the country from England and elsewhere, when it is believed that we were largely indebted to Europe. The new banks made large issues of paper, notwithstanding the metallic currency; the prices of everything that is bought and sold continued to rise; and in 1835 and 1836 more banks were chartered, and some very large ones, by the States. State

loans to a great amount were negotiated in Europe; private credit was pledged for money abroad to an unexampled extent; bills were drawn on one bank to pay another, till England has become surfeited with American securities, both public and private. During the last two or three years the public lands have attracted particular attention; between twenty and thirty millions of dollars were realized from this source alone, the last year. The internal improvements of the country have gone forward with astonishing rapidity: the produce of the soil, lands, merchandise, — in fact, everything has increased in value; fortune after fortune has been made without physical or mental labor; thousands of persons have left their regular occupations to trade in *something*, and merchants, lawyers, doctors, judges, and legislators have joined in the pursuit of wealth.

General Jackson promised us a better currency when he destroyed the Bank, and sternly refused to give us another. When that institution was in full operation we had a currency equal to any the world ever witnessed; its notes were at par in every part of the United States and in Canada and Nova Scotia. Money could be placed in New Orleans by persons residing in the Atlantic States at less than the cost of insurance, and there was no transporting of specie from one end of the continent to the other in common commercial transactions.

What do we see now? The public money deposited in eighty-six State banks, and an increase of bank capital, since General Jackson's veto of the Bank of the United States, of not less than two hundred and fifty millions of dollars. It is said that the business of the country is increased. We all know there is a great increase of population, and consequently of business; but has the legitimate business increased in proportion to the increase of bank capital and circulation? Has not the business been stimulated and carried far beyond its natural growth by the aliment received from this eighty millions of paper?

We know what our condition was four years ago. Perhaps it would be well to inquire what it is now. We have nearly one hundred deposit banks (acting without concert), in which there must be at this time, to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States and the disbursing officers of the Government, about fifty millions of dollars. We have an increase of State bank paper of eighty millions of dollars, an expansion which

is unnatural and over which the General Government has no control. The inequality of the currency is made manifest by the demands of gold and silver in some sections of the country for public dues, while in others paper is received in payment. We are largely indebted to Great Britain, the produce of our country falling in price abroad and at home, our exchanges all in disorder, confidence impaired, and a probability of considerable shipments of specie to pay the balances we owe abroad. The day of contraction has arrived, and a revolution is to take place in the business of the country. The causes of the great speculations in lands and the overtrading in other branches of business may be attributed to the immoderate expansion of bank notes and the forcing of specie into the country contrary to the natural laws that govern trade. It has been shown that this increase of bank capital and bank paper was produced by the action of the Executive and by legislation. The promised currency has never been realized, and that class of persons who were assured by General Jackson that they should derive important advantages by this new system are to be the sufferers.

There is one class of men who have been and are gathering a golden harvest from his experiments upon the currency, viz. the money-lenders, — the great capitalists of the country, — the persons against whom these measures were principally directed. The equality which was to be produced has not taken place. On the other hand, human ingenuity could not have devised a scheme better calculated to satisfy the appetite of avarice than the one now in operation. The labor of the country is eventually to suffer from the determination of the Executive to carry into effect this experiment upon the currency. It is the many and not the few who are to suffer. Time has revealed to us but a small part of the effects of the quackery which has been inflicted upon us by an interference with one of the most difficult and delicate subjects that can be touched by the Executive hand. We have twenty-six independent sovereignties, all having the power to create banks, and those banks have power to issue notes uncontrolled by the General Government. How long such a system can or will be continued must be left with the people to decide.

I shall pass with reluctance from this fruitful and interesting

topic to another of general interest, viz. the Public Lands. The Land Bill that passed the Senate and was laid on the table in the House was by no means acceptable to those who are desirous of having a distribution of the revenue arising from that source among its lawful proprietors. The Bill was partial and unjust, and amounted to a surrender of the public domain with little prospect of much compensation. The public lands of the United States are of immense value, almost beyond computation, and belong in common to all the States. They will be a source of great revenue annually for a long time to come, and the money derived from them should be distributed among the States. A plan known by the name of Mr. Clay's Land Bill is thought, by persons in all parts of the country who are in favor of distributing the proceeds, to be the most judicious that has yet been presented to Congress. This Bill once passed both Houses of Congress, but was vetoed by General Jackson. The provisions of the Bill are favorable to the new States, and such as should be satisfactory to them, unless they expect to obtain the whole public domain within their borders without compensation. This Bill will probably come before Congress at its next session, and it is to be hoped may become a law. Should this be the case, another very important question would be put at rest for the present. I refer to the reduction of the duties on imports.

The Bill brought into the House of Representatives the last winter by the Committee of Ways and Means is one which is expected to be presented again at the next Congress. It proposes a great and sudden reduction on all imported articles now paying a duty of over twenty per cent. Should this Bill become a law it would deeply affect all interests in the country, and especially those of New England. This is another instance of an attempt at legislation for the benefit of the poor and middling class of society. Who does not know that it is a direct blow struck at the labor of the country? Where are the workers in iron, brass, steel, leather, tin, etc., etc., the hatter and the tailor, with a great many others who are now protected, as they had supposed, under the faith of this Government? Will the great and intelligent mechanic interests of this country agree to the surrender of the principle of protection which has been recognized by the Federal Government from its foundation? This is to be a

war ostensibly waged against capital and the monopolists, as they are *courteously* called by some of those who are against the system of protecting our own labor. Whenever the principle of protection is surrendered it will probably be found that the war will have been, in effect, against the labor and not the capital of the country. A neighboring State Legislature passed sundry resolutions recommending to Congress to reduce the price of the public lands, and also the tariff of duties on imports. The justice or policy of such a measure cannot be understood. If it arises from a desire to drain the State of its population and wealth, no measure that can be thought of would so effectually produce that result. It is believed that the policy of this Commonwealth does not lie so deep, or perhaps she has less patriotism than her neighbor ; at all events, it is a policy full of mischief to the industrious people of Massachusetts, and one that should be resisted by all constitutional means. The opinions of General Jackson on this important question may be found in his farewell address to the people of the United States.

It is to be regretted that the Fortification Bill was lost at the last session of Congress. The Bill passed the House three times, and the last time by a larger majority than the first. The House thought proper to pass another Deposit Act, with the same provisions as that passed in June last, to take effect on the 1st January next, which was appended to the Fortification Bill. The Senate thought proper to reject the Bill, although the popular branch of the Legislature by a large majority decided that the public interest required that the money in the Treasury should be placed in the hands of the people, to whom it belonged. The immediate representatives of the people thought it was not compatible with their duty to their constituents to recede from the stand they had assumed. The Senate adhered, and with that body should rest the responsibility of the loss of the Fortification Bill, with the amendment distributing among the States the surplus revenue. There are good reasons for supposing it would have passed the Senate but for a threatened veto, which was suspended over its members.

Upon the subject of Executive patronage a word should be said in connection with the veto power. A pernicious and dangerous practice has obtained to a considerable extent of late in the appointment of members of Congress by the Executive to

important and lucrative offices. Several members of the last Congress have already been appointed to office, and many more will doubtless be rewarded for their party fidelity. If this practice continues to prevail, Congress will soon become nothing more than a component part of the Executive will. If we intend to maintain inviolate the independence of Congress and the liberties of the people, a remedy must be found for this notorious evil. Independence of action cannot be looked for in a House of Representatives, a considerable portion of whose members are suppliants for offices at the disposal of the President. There is no feeling of party in this matter. The spirit of the remark will apply to all parties, whoever may be in power, and operate through all time.

There is one other question of so much importance, and which is soon to occupy so much of the public mind, that it should be brought for a moment before you. Nothing has been presented to the consideration of the Free States since the adoption of the Federal Constitution that will produce more excitement than the proposition to annex the vast territory of Texas to this Union. The independence of this infant nation has already been recognized by our Government. The next movement of the friends of Texas will be its annexation to the United States. It is to be a slaveholding country, and comprises territory sufficient to create six States. There can be little doubt that many distinguished persons high in power and influence have a settled and abiding purpose to carry this measure. Should their object be attained, where will be the patronage and Executive power of the Government? Will it not be gone, forever departed, from the Free States? Let us maintain the Constitution in *letter* and *spirit* as we received it from our fathers, and resist every attempt at the acquisition of territory to be inhabited by slaves.

Having written much more than I intended, permit me to renew my thanks for the honor you have done me by your invitation, which pressing engagements arising from long absence compel me most respectfully to decline. I pray you to accept the assurances with which I remain, gentlemen,

Your friend and grateful servant,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

We have witnessed within the last few years a condition of affairs very similar to that described by Mr. Lawrence in the first part of this letter; and when the inevitable collapse came in 1837, as it also came in 1873, as the result of currency inflation and wild speculation, it brought wide-spread disaster and the absolute ruin of multitudes, and was followed by months and years of depression and stagnation.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ESSEX COMPANY. — THE RISE OF LAWRENCE. — THE PACIFIC MILLS.

The Messrs. Lawrence came out of the crisis of 1837, and the hard times which followed, with capital and credit unimpaired; and as the country gradually recovered its normal condition of activity and prosperity, their business operations increased in magnitude and importance. They had now ceased to be importers of foreign fabrics, and had become the leading house for the sale of dry goods of domestic production. Associated with other enterprising men, they saw opportunities before them for the development of New England manufactures upon a broader and grander scale than had hitherto been attempted, and they were prompt to improve them.

The rapid waters of the Merrimac, Whittier's "mountain-born" river, already made to serve the purposes of human industry at many a point in their course towards the ocean, were to be arrested yet once again for further service before they should reach the sea. The precise spot had been determined upon, and a large purchase of land had been made provisionally by the Merrimac Water Power Association, of which a younger brother of the Lawrence family, Mr. Samuel Lawrence, afterwards the first president of the Boston Board of Trade, was president and treasurer.[1] In the winter of 1844–45, an act

[1] This gentleman, the last survivor of the Lawrence brothers, died March 18, 1880.

was asked for, and obtained, from the Massachusetts Legislature, incorporating the Essex Company. On the morning after the final passage of the bill, the gentlemen named in it as corporators and their associates assembled at the State House in Boston, and were present when Governor Briggs attached his signature to it and made it law. The same hour they started on an excursion to the site of the future city, proceeding by rail to North Andover, and thence by carriages to the Falls. This company of business men, upon whose decision and action such vast interests depended, consisted of Messrs. Abbott Lawrence, William Lawrence, Samuel Lawrence,[1] Francis C. Lowell, John A. Lowell, George W. Lyman, Theodore Lyman, Nathan Appleton, Patrick T. Jackson, William Sturgis, John Nesmith, Jonathan Tyler, James B. Francis, and Charles S. Storrow. An account of the day's proceedings is given in the History of Essex County, recently published, which says: —

"Under the pilotage of Mr. Daniel Saunders, the party were shown, not the beauties of a charming landscape; rather was it a question of power, — how much attainable and at what cost; a question of the adaptability of surrounding lands to the building of a town, — a matter to be dealt with by men of forecast, scientific attainments, and practical knowledge of heavy manufacturing and engineering operations. At that date these fourteen gentlemen were fit representatives of the great interest then so lately established, — the manufacture of textile fabrics in New England."

After a careful examination of the neighborhood, and the discussion of various plans upon the spot, the party drove to Lowell, and sat down to a late dinner at the

[1] At this time, and for many years previously, Mr. Amos Lawrence had been obliged, by the failure of his health, to withdraw from active business and to leave the direction of affairs to his brother, who had thus become, in fact, the head of the house. The partnership did not terminate, however, until the death of Mr. Amos Lawrence, on the 31st of December, 1852.

Merrimac House. Lord Stowell used to say, "A dinner lubricates business;" and in the instance before us we have a memorable illustration of the fact. We quote again from the History of Essex County: —

"In that after-dinner hour was taken the first decisive step leading to permanent organization and effective work. Mr. Abbott Lawrence and Mr. John A. Lowell retired for a few minutes' consultation, and, returning, offered the Water Power Association, as a fair equivalent for all its acquired rights and interest, the sum of $30,000, in addition to the reimbursement of all expenses previously incurred; assuming also to carry out all agreements made by the associates for the purchase of lands and flowage rights already secured by bond, and to lead off in the organization of the Essex Company by large subscriptions to its capital stock. . . . A proposition so definite, promising immediate organization of a powerful company, and commencement of active operations with efficient leaders, was promptly accepted. Thus, on the day the act was signed, before set of sun, steps had been taken by parties who harbored no fear of failure and took no backward course, which resulted in immediate operations as vigorous and unremitting as the inception was energetic and novel. The excursionists returned home, hardly realizing that a city had been born which would force products upon the world's markets, call laborers from among all civilized northern races, and work materials supplied from every quarter of the globe."

All this happened on the 20th of March, 1845. Two days later the subscription paper of the Essex Company was drawn up. Mr. Lawrence was the first and largest subscriber, taking one thousand shares at one hundred dollars each. This investment of a hundred thousand dollars he never disturbed, and the shares, we believe, are still held in the family. He took the presidency of the company; under his direction contracts were at once made, and in the month of July following work was commenced. The new town of Lawrence — there could be no question as to what its name should be — was

incorporated April 17, 1847; the dam was completed September 19, 1848; and the first cotton arrived January 12, 1849, consigned to the Atlantic Cotton Mills, of which Mr. Lawrence was also president and one of the large stockholders. The town became a city, by charter granted March 21, 1853. It now has a population of about forty thousand, and a taxable valuation of twenty-five million dollars. Most justly has it been said: "The broad comprehension, unwavering faith, and large capacity of Abbott Lawrence should never be forgotten by dwellers in the city that bears his name."

In 1853 the Pacific Mills were incorporated, with a capital of two million dollars, and with Mr. Lawrence for president. The early history of this corporation was marked by difficulties and embarrassments; but it was in energetic and untiring hands, whose efforts would not cease until success had been achieved. In this, as in so many other instances, Mr. Lawrence showed himself a born leader of men, shrinking from no duty, shunning no responsibility, asking no one to go where he was not ready to go himself. This great corporation now has a capital of two and a half millions of dollars and twelve mill-buildings, it employs between five and six thousand operatives, and it turns out a product of eighty million yards annually.

CHAPTER V.

THE TARIFF. — OVERTURES FROM VIRGINIA.

Mr. Lawrence was a man of affairs, but he was much more than this. He possessed not only the commercial instinct so essential to permanent success in business, but also, and what is rarely found in combination with it, an insight into the principles which control the course and movement of trade. He understood the theory as well as the practice of his profession. We have had occasion to notice his ability to deal with the question of finance, and to write upon it, not merely as a sagacious business man, but as a thoughtful and well-instructed observer. He was similarly intelligent upon other subjects bearing upon the industry and material prosperity of the country; and on the tariff question particularly he held definite and positive convictions, which were the result of careful investigation and reflection. Several years before his firm had become identified with the manufacturing system of New England by its investments at Lowell, and while his own interests as an importer might seem to have pointed in the opposite direction, he became a protectionist. He was not opposed to foreign commerce and international trade; his own admirable words, in a message to a young men's association, were: "Tell them that the hand of God has spread out these mighty oceans not to separate, but to unite the nations of the earth; that the winds that fill the sail are the breath of Heaven; that the various climates of the earth and their different

products are designed by Providence to be the foundation of a mutually beneficial intercourse between distant regions." But, at the same time, he desired to encourage the broadest practicable diversity in the industries of his own country, and to secure for them all alike a balanced and stable prosperity. To quote from Mr. Everett, "He heard in advance the voice of a hundred streams, now running to waste over barren rocks, but destined hereafter to be brought into accord with the music of the water-wheel and the power-loom. He contemplated a home consumption, at the farmer's door, for the products of his cornfield, his vegetable garden, and his dairy."

The prominent business men of Boston were slow to embrace the doctrines of protection, which were "forced upon" them, as we shall presently see. When they had accepted them as what was supposed to be the fixed policy of the nation, and had been successful in the plans which they had laid in conformity with them, it is not strange that they should have adhered to them strenuously, even when some of those who at first had been most earnest in advocacy of them abandoned their position, and sought to reverse the action which they had formerly promoted. This is fully explained by Mr. Lawrence in one of his celebrated letters on the tariff question, addressed to the Hon. William C. Rives of Virginia, in 1846, and published and widely circulated at the time.

"We were," said he, "previous to the War of 1812, an agricultural and navigating people. The American system was forced upon us, and was adopted for the purpose of creating a home market for the products of the soil of the South and West; we resisted the adoption of a system which, we honestly believed, would greatly injure our navigation, and drive us from our accustomed employments into a business we did not understand. We came into it, however, reluctantly, and soon learned that with the transfer of our capital we acquired skill and knowledge in the use of it, and that, so far from our foreign

commerce being diminished, it was increased, and that our domestic tonnage and commerce were very soon more than quadrupled. The illustrations were so striking in every department of labor, that those who, fifteen years ago, were the strongest opponents of the protective tariff among us have given up their theories and acknowledged that the revelations are such as to satisfy the most sceptical. We have gone forward steadily, till many descriptions of manufactures are as well settled in New England as the raising of potatoes. Our experience has given us skill, and of course we have confidence in our own resources that does not exist elsewhere."

Mr. Webster had spoken similarly in the Senate of the United States, during the debate on the tariff, in 1828, when he said: —

"The opinion of New England up to 1824 was founded in the conviction that on the whole it was wisest and best, both for herself and others, that manufactures should make haste slowly. She felt a reluctance to trust great interests on the foundation of Government patronage. But the Act of 1824 settled the policy of the country. What then was New England to do? Was she longer to resist what she could no longer prevent; or, seeing the policy of the Government thus settled and fixed, to accommodate to it, as well as she could, her own pursuits and her own industry?"

During the agitation of the tariff question in 1827, the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and the Mechanic Arts issued a call for a National Convention, to assemble at the Capitol in Harrisburg on the 30th of July of that year. A meeting was held in Boston, at which the Governor, the Hon. Levi Lincoln, presided, and Mr. Lawrence, with six others, was chosen to represent Massachusetts. Mr. Everett also received an appointment, but for some reason did not accept. At this meeting a resolution was passed, referring in conciliatory terms to the prevailing sentiment at the South upon the question at issue, but insisting that the continued prosperity

of the country depended largely upon the maintenance of the protective policy. Among others who were prominent in the Harrisburg Convention were Messrs. Gideon Welles and Thomas S. Perkins of Connecticut, Hezekiah Niles of Maryland, Francis Granger and Richard Keese of New York, Ezekiel Webster of New Hampshire, Thomas Ewing of Ohio, and Charles J. Ingersoll, Matthew Carey, Walter Forward, and Robert Patterson [1] of Pennsylvania. Mr. Joseph Ritner, of the last-named State and soon after its Governor, was president; Mr. Lawrence was a member of the Committee on Printed Cottons. His associates desired to insist upon a minimum duty of forty cents a square yard; but he, always moderate in his views and judicious in his utterances, thought it better not to commit the Convention positively to particular rates, but to make general recommendations. He therefore introduced the following resolution, which was adopted: —

"That it be respectfully submitted to the consideration of Congress to impose adequate duties for the protection of printed and other cottons, by increasing the present minimum or square-yard duty."

The Convention appointed a committee to prepare an address, embodying and enforcing the conclusions which had been reached by it. This address was written, we believe, by Mr. Niles, who had been one of the most active promoters of the meeting, and was the occasion of earnest controversy, which extended to all parts of the country, and was carried on upon both sides with much warmth of feeling. In 1831 a Free Trade Convention was held

[1] The record says *Joseph* Patterson, but General Robert Patterson is the person intended. This venerable gentleman, who for many years was the sole survivor of the Convention, refers, in a note which lies before us, dated January 20, 1880, to Mr. Lawrence's prominent and useful participation in the proceedings, and speaks of the friendship with him then formed, which lasted until his death. In a conversation which the author had with General Patterson in Philadelphia, in the winter of 1880–81, a few months before his death, he spoke of Mr. Lawrence with the warmest appreciation.

in Philadelphia, over which Mr. John Austin Stevens of New York presided, and of which Mr. Gallatin was one of the most prominent members.

The tariff law of 1828, and the amendment to it of 1832, led to the Nullification Ordinance of South Carolina in 1833, and this in turn to the Compromise Measures of Mr. Clay in the same year. The sentiment of Massachusetts was at first very hostile to these measures, and Mr. Webster[1] and the entire congressional delegation voted against them. A letter written from Boston to Mr. Clay, March 19, 1833, by Mr. Peleg Sprague, then a Senator from the State of Maine, shows what the general feeling had been, and how it had been modified, as Mr. Clay's motives and course of action had come to be better understood: —

"It affords me the highest gratification to be able to assure you that public sentiment here has wonderfully changed in favor of your great measure, since its introduction. It is now popular, and becoming more and more so as it becomes better understood, as the real condition of the country and the views and opinions of the Administration are more known, and as the Bill itself and your course previous to its being offered in the Senate are explained. In New York I scarcely found an individual who did not approve it. In Providence and in Boston there is yet some diversity of opinion among the politicians, but,

[1] Mr. Webster, in his celebrated Faneuil Hall speech, delivered in the autumn of 1842, thus referred to the Compromise Act. "No measure ever passed Congress during my connection with that body that caused me so much grief and mortification. It was passed by a few friends joining the whole host of the enemy. . . . It was then pressed through under the great emergency of the public necessities. But I may now recur to what I then said, namely, that its principle was false and dangerous, and that when its time came, it would rack and convulse our system. I said we should not get rid of it without throes and spasms. Has not this been as predicted? We have felt the spasms and throes of this convulsion; but we have at last gone through them, and begin to breathe again. It is something that that act is at last got rid of; and the present tariff is deserving in this, that it is specific and discriminating, that it holds to common sense, and rejects and discards the principles of the Compromise Act, I hope, forever."

It should be remembered that this entire speech was a severe arraignment of the rival statesman of Kentucky, and of those who were then supporting his nomination for the Presidency. We shall have occasion to refer to it again.

so far as I learn, none among the actual business men engaged in manufactures. I have seen several of the principal and most intelligent; they are only apprehensive that it will not be permanent, that it will be again put afloat. They say that they do not think fit to come out publicly in favor of the measure, because it might create uneasiness in the South, and generate a disposition to make further demands, and because it would carry a censure upon their delegation in Congress. I have seen and conversed with many of the principal men, and was at first surprised that there was so much of error and misapprehension in nearly all in relation to the Bill. I yesterday spent nearly an hour in conversation upon this subject with the Governor [Levi Lincoln], most of the members of his Council being present, and I also have conversed with the Lieutenant-Governor [Samuel T. Armstrong], the Speaker of the House of Representatives [William B. Calhoun], several members of the Senate, and many members of the House, with Crowninshield and Dwight, formerly members of Congress, with both the Everetts, President Quincy, the Lawrences, and many other merchants and manufacturers, whose names are unknown to you; and I cannot doubt from their representations that the Bill is now considered a good one, and will be extremely popular when fully understood. Indeed, I am entirely mistaken if in six months it be not considered in New England as the most wise, patriotic, beneficent, and splendid act of legislation that any individual in this country has ever achieved."

Mr. Lawrence himself wrote to Mr. Clay a few days later (March 26, 1833), on the same subject, as follows: —

"I have great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., with your speech upon the Tariff Bill.

"Your letter gave me individually, inexpressible pleasure, as it has placed in my power the means of satisfying the minds of many prominent citizens among us, who had supposed the whole scheme was brought forward without the knowledge of your friends. I have given the letter free circulation, where it has been required to remove any prejudices that might have existed; and I have a general response from all that they are entirely satisfied with the purity of your motives, as well as your en-

lightened patriotism. The newspaper press is now silent here upon the subject, and will remain so. I know the editors well, and have taken pains to place the whole subject upon true ground. I had, as you know, strong objections to any concessions whatever; yet I am now well satisfied with the course the whole subject took in Congress; so are the people of this State, and of New England. Our interests have been greatly promoted by it, and it is hoped and believed that time will prove to us that it was the dictate of wisdom to have adopted the Bill proposed by you, and carried by your influence. I do not think there is the least unkind feeling toward you in New England, and I do not take, I think, too much upon myself, when I say you were never more popular than at the present moment. I look for a great change in public sentiment upon the American system, before the end of nine years, or even five years. If the system of internal improvements could go on for a few years with vigor, there is not a doubt upon my mind that this Union would be bound by ties stronger than all the constitutions that human wisdom could devise. A railroad from New England to Georgia would do more to harmonize the feelings of the whole country than any amendments to the Constitution that can be offered or adopted. It is intercourse we want, and what I desire. Your Land Bill is a great favorite here, and receives the hearty support of all parties, with the exception of some few office-holders."

The next general tariff act was that of August 30, 1842, and Mr. Lawrence participated actively in the discussions which preceded and prepared the way for it. He made a speech at a convention of shoe and leather dealers in the Marlborough Chapel, Boston, on the 2nd of March, 1842, in favor of discriminating and specific duties, which, although unpremeditated and given off-hand, was considered worthy of publication.

In 1846, under President Polk's administration, the legislation of 1842 was reversed. On the 3rd of December, 1845, Mr. Robert J. Walker, as Secretary of the Treasury, sent his first report to Congress, in which he took strong ground against all minimums and all specific duties, and

recommended twenty per cent *ad valorem* as the rate which as a general rule would yield the largest revenue. On the appearance of this report Mr. Lawrence wrote the three letters to Mr. Rives, from one of which we have already quoted, in which he argued calmly and dispassionately against the various positions taken by the Secretary. He was strenuous in his advocacy of specific as against *ad valorem* duties; and it should be said that in this particular Mr. Gallatin and other leading supporters of a revenue tariff system were in accord with him. We now know that Mr. Walker was prepared, in the interest of peace, and in order to the attainment, if possible, of stability and permanent security in the tariff legislation of the country, to meet the protectionist party in a spirit of mutual concession; but his advances were not reciprocated. Perhaps, if he had had Massachusetts alone to deal with, he would have been more successful; for Mr. Lawrence, writing to Mr. Appleton on the 4th of August, 1846, only three or four days after the President attached his signature to the tariff bill, said: —

> "The Whigs should be moderate, and not commit themselves to the tariff of '42 or nothing. We can afford to yield something to the prejudices of the people, and I am ready for a new bill with discrimination and specific duties at lower rates than those of '42."

The letters to Mr. Rives attracted much attention in all parts of the country, and especially in Virginia, where they were reproduced and commented upon at length in the leading newspapers. So deep was the impression made in that State by them, and such a spirit of enterprise did they enkindle, that some of the leading citizens invited Mr. Lawrence to come and establish a manufacturing town at the Great Falls of the Potomac. The following letter, dated "Richmond, January 30, 1846," and signed by forty-three prominent persons, most of them members of the Virginia Legislature, was sent to him: —

"We, the members of both political parties in the Legislature of Virginia, and others, having heard through James M. Crane, Esq., that you and he had had repeated conversations together about commencing a manufacturing town at the Great Falls of the Potomac, in the county of Fairfax in this State, take great pleasure in recommending the subject to your consideration, and inviting your co-operation in the same.

"We believe that the spirit of improvement is abroad in the State, and that our people only want some master-mind to give confidence, to draw forth their strength, energy, and capital in this highly important branch of home industry. The commencement of a manufacturing town in the Old Dominion, and near the capital of the American Union, would produce a powerful impulse in all the Southern States, and lead perhaps to results of vast importance to the whole country.

"Your high moral, intelligent, practical, and business character eminently befits you for such an undertaking. Your name and character are well known to us and the whole South; and should you lead off in this noble work, it would, besides being a monument to your fame, also unite the North and South more closely and harmoniously together in their onward progress to equal rewards and a common destiny.

"We look to New England's noble, intelligent, and enterprising sons and daughters to aid us to rear those industrial and truly national monuments of labor in the 'Sunny South,' which now add so much to the energy, sagacity, and wealth of our Eastern brethren. Their fame has spread over the whole sphere we inhabit, and we hope will continue to spread while the world shall survive, and our own beloved country may hold a place among the powers of the earth.

"The regions above the Great Falls abound in coal, iron, and other minerals. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal passes immediately by it, bringing you within two hours' travel to Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria. There is a great deal of capital around in the counties of Loudoun, Fairfax, and the cities near by, which would be invested in manufacturing if confidence was once created.

"Wishing sincerely that our request may meet your approbation, we take great pleasure in subscribing ourselves, dear sir,

"Your obedient servants."

This invitation was transmitted through the Hon. William S. Archer, one of the United States Senators from Virginia, who earnestly pressed it upon Mr. Lawrence's attention in a letter from which the following is an extract: —

"What we want in Virginia is the establishment of one considerable work of manufacture under auspices which may, by diffusing confidence, awaken, first, attention, and then the development of our own resources of capital, now held back from a just distrust of the qualifications of Southern men to bring to use the vigilance and economical methods in expenditure which have given a character, name, and trust, as regards your people, which none others can pretend to. Should you lend yourself to our views in this respect, the good you will have achieved will not be confined to a money form. This will be the least considerable form of your benefit. That to which I should look most would be the gradual change in the habits of our people, — the humble classes more especially, — by the infusion of the practice and temper of your people. There is no form or sum of good which man can render to his fellowmen so signal as by winning them to habits of regular and systematic industry, from lethargy, loafing, and dissoluteness."

This appeal, on the part of a sister State, for co-operation and leadership in the development of its industry and capital, was a remarkable recognition of, and tribute to, the ability and character of Mr. Lawrence; and, with the consciousness of power and personal resources which he must have possessed, and which all great men feel, the temptation to accede to the flattering proposal, so urgently pressed upon him, must have been very strong. But the new undertaking on the banks of the Merrimac was still in its infancy; the great dam had not yet been carried across the stream, and the foundations of the various mill structures had only just been laid. Vast interests were at stake nearer home, and heavy responsibilities had been incurred, which would require all his care. He could

not allow himself to be diverted from this work by the projected enterprise on the shores of the Potomac, no matter how alluring the promise of results both to himself and to others. It were idle, perhaps, to speculate as to what might have been the consequences had the decision of Mr. Lawrence been in the affirmative instead of the negative. Unquestionably, if New England energy, industry, and thrift could then have taken root in Virginia, an example would have been set there, the influence of which, upon the other States of the South, would have affected directly and indirectly the whole country. Nor does it seem improbable that, with the development and growth of manufactures among the people of the South, the friendly relations between the two sections of the country, stimulated and fostered by mutual interests and a common policy, might never have been broken.

Mr. Helper, in his "Impending Crisis," relates that in 1836 or 1837 Mr. Lawrence visited Richmond with well-matured plans for the improvement of the water-power of the James, and for the investment of a large amount of money, in behalf of himself, his brother Amos, and other capitalists, but that he was literally driven from the accomplishment of his purposes by the proslavery sentiment of the community, excited, particularly, by the bitter and persistent attacks of the "Richmond Enquirer." All this must be a mistake. The statements just given are correct; and it is to the last degree improbable that Mr. Helper's narrative is true also.

CHAPTER VI.

WATER SUPPLY FOR BOSTON. — THE CITIZEN SOLDIERY

Mr. Lawrence's sympathies and energies were much wider in their scope and operation than the domain of trade and commerce. He was constantly mindful of his responsibilities as a citizen of Boston, of Massachusetts, of the United States, — to his city, to his State, and to his country, — and he was never appealed to in vain for co-operation in behalf of measures looking to the public good, whether local or more national in their relations. He had all the necessary qualifications for leadership, in the public meeting as well as upon the Exchange; and here, as elsewhere, he made good use of his powers. We have a noteworthy illustration of this in the ardor with which he threw himself into the movement for supplying the city of Boston with an abundance of pure water. It would be difficult to understand now how there could have been two sides to this question, did we not remember that every great work of improvement and reform has to be carried, in the face of opposition, by the courage, determination, and persistency of its supporters. Some were personally interested in private water companies, either established or projected, and insisted that there was water enough and to spare; others protested against the expense of the proposed additional supply, and argued that it would lead to a debt which would be a perpetual mortgage upon the real property of the citizens; others, again, urged that it would be anti-democratic for the

municipality to undertake a work which could be carried on much better by private enterprise. There was a difference of opinion, also, as to the source of supply. Mr. John H. Wilkins, afterward a member of the Cochituate Water Board, and for four years its Chairman, printed a pamphlet favoring the taking of water from Charles River. He said: "Charles River is just as naturally the source of supply for Boston as the Schuylkill is for Philadelphia." The elder Quincy took the same view, and declared his preference for a running stream to a pond for supplying a city with water. Some were for taking water from Spot Pond; others, and the majority, gave the preference to Long Pond, now known as Lake Cochituate.

One consideration, urged by the friends of the Middlesex Canal, against drawing the proposed water supply from Long Pond, is interesting, as showing the estimation in which that work was held by some, even as late as 1845. In this year a remonstrance was addressed to the Legislature, which has been preserved in pamphlet form, but without the name of its author. It says: —

"Another class of sufferers ought not to be omitted. I refer to the boatmen and laborers on the Middlesex Canal. . . . It is only during about seven months of the year that the canal is open. The whole business of the year must be done in that period, and it is during these months that the waters of Long Pond are most essential to the prosperity of the canal. . . .

"At one period the business on this canal was small, and the property conceded to be of no great value. But it afterwards revived; and last year its earnings were stated by the agent before your Committee to be $9,000, and the prospects were fair for an increase hereafter." [1]

In the summer of 1844 a Committee of the City Council was appointed "to consider and report what measures, if any, should be adopted to procure an abun-

[1] The act incorporating the Middlesex Canal Company was passed in 1793. The work was completed in 1803; traffic upon it finally ceased in 1853; and the charter was annulled in 1859.

dant supply of pure, soft water for the use of the city." This Committee reported, on the 22nd of August, that "in their opinion the time has arrived when it is both expedient and necessary that pure water should be introduced into the city." It also recommended the appointment of a commission to examine and report upon the various sources of water supply which had been suggested. The Commissioners were Patrick T. Jackson, Nathan Hale, and James F. Baldwin. During the autumn several meetings were held in Faneuil Hall, at which the Mayor, Mr. Martin Brimmer, presided, and various public-spirited citizens spoke. At the last of these meetings (November 26) Mr. Lawrence made some remarks which were not reported at length in the papers, but it is said of them that they were earnest and eloquent, and that it was clear Mr. Lawrence's heart was in what he said, and that he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with the subject by deep thought and frequent conference with practical men. "One class, and one class only," said Mr. Lawrence, "was to have this great blessing without money and without price, and that class was the poor. Yes, the poor should have the water free, and they only." The meeting responded to this in a most audible manner, we are told, and manifested the warmest sympathy with all his expressions of interest in the subject. The other speakers were John C. Gray, Edward Brooks, Thomas B. Curtis, and Henry Williams.

The Legislature passed an act (March 25, 1845) authorizing the city to take water either from Long Pond or Charles River; this was to be submitted to a popular vote for acceptance or rejection, and everything possible was said and done to create prejudice and hostility against it.[1] The friends of the measure were equally active.

[1] Mr. James M. Bugbee suggests that the opposition to the act was chiefly because of the extraordinary powers given to the three Water Commissioners, who were to be appointed as agents of the City Council. — *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, Vol. III. p. 250. Mr. Lawrence refers to this objection in his speech.

and meetings were held by them, at which spirited addresses were given, and much enthusiasm was manifested. On the 8th of May a committee appointed at a previous meeting presented a report in which the pending issue was clearly and forcibly defined. "You must choose," it was said to the citizens, "between the waters of Long Pond or Charles River to be brought by the city, on the one hand, or the chance of having those of Spot Pond to be brought by a private company, on the other." The closing paragraph was as follows:—

"And now, fellow-citizens, we leave the question in your hands with this simple request, that every man who has until now been from conviction a consistent and unwavering friend of the water project will ask himself what good reason has been given why he should abandon the cause, turn his back upon those who have faithfully and zealously labored in its behalf, and throw away the boon he has been so long contending for, when it is for the first time within his reach. We beg each one of you to look at the question calmly, by the light of your own judgment, and not through the medium of the prejudices of others, and then give your votes according to your honest convictions. This is all we ask, being fully persuaded that should this course be adopted, the question will be settled by a vote which will set at rest the great question, namely: Shall or shall not the inhabitants of Boston enjoy, as their own property and under their own control, an ample and perpetual supply of pure, soft, and wholesome water?"

This report was signed by Thomas B. Curtis, George Darracott, Martin Brimmer, Edward Brooks, John C. Gray, Abbott Lawrence, and Loring Norcross. After its presentation, speeches were made by Mr. Thomas A. Davis (the Mayor), Dr. Walter Channing, and Mr. Lawrence. Mr. Brimmer presided, and had previously spoken. Mr. Lawrence's speech on this occasion was one of his most characteristic efforts; it well illustrates the prudence and practical sense in combination with breadth and boldness with which he was accustomed to deal with great questions. He said:—

"I had hoped, sir, that the discussion of the water question was settled last autumn in this hall, and that I should have been spared the necessity of ever coming before my fellow-citizens to discuss it further. I am here to-night, first, because I feel a deep interest in this subject, and, secondly, because I have been requested by a considerable number of my fellow-citizens to say a word upon this occasion.

"I had supposed that after the full discussion of the matter not only last year, but at different periods for twenty years, it would not have required my voice, or that of any other man, to satisfy the people of this city that it was necessary and right, and their duty, to bring into it a copious supply of fresh and pure water. In that supposition I have been disappointed, but perhaps I ought not to have been surprised that there should be a diversity of opinion and sentiment on a question like this. I find that there are several classes of opponents. There are, first, those who are opposed to bringing in water at all; next, those who are in favor of bringing it from Spot Pond, or Neponset River, or Jamaica Pond, or any other place which is not that designated in the bill.

"I do not propose to go into the details of this question. They have been too fully and too ably discussed elsewhere. Nor shall I speak of the necessity of introducing water. After the exposition just now made by the late Mayor of the city, of its wants in that respect, that would be entirely supererogatory. Nor need I enter upon an analysis of the Bill, after the remarks of Mr. Brooks and Mr. Gray last evening. But I do propose, and I am here merely to express my own opinions upon the subject, and to press and to impress upon my fellow-citizens my feelings and views of this necessity. We are very particular and exact as to the food we take. We are particular to have good bread, the best of animal and vegetable food, good coverings to our bodies; we are very exact in all these matters, but as to this great necessity, the want of pure water, we seem to be utterly reckless both as to quality and quantity.

"What is the question, sir? It is no other than this: Are you ready to put your hands in your pockets, and by being taxed a very small amount, to furnish this absolute necessity to yourselves? I look upon it as a mere matter of dollars and cents, — a mere question of money. It is the expense that pro-

duces the whole opposition. I find no fault with those who differ from me in opinion. Everybody has a right to his own opinion, and I am in all cases a friend to free discussion. But I have my own opinion on this subject, and I am here to express it. I have many personal and intimate friends who are opposed to this measure, but I have been for water from the commencement, and I am for water now.

"I do not anticipate that I shall say anything new upon this matter, and I may repeat what I have said myself on former occasions here. If my arguments were sound when I used them last, they are sound now. I have examined this Bill with no small care. I have looked at the wants of the community in every phase in which I could see them, and I am in favor of the measure, first, on the score of health; second, on the score of economy and convenience; third, on the score of security against fire; and, fourth, because I hold it to be the duty of the rich man to furnish the poor man with the water that he cannot furnish himself.

"I am daily assailed by friends who say, 'I am surprised that you are willing to run the city in debt for this utopian scheme.' But what is it? The Commissioners' Report states the expense at about two million and a half of dollars. I do not undertake to say whether this is right within a hundred thousand or half a million dollars. But what is that compared with the object? I do know, from the evidence before the Committee of the Legislature, that the opponents agree as to about one half the expense, that for distribution in the city and some other points. The only difference is about the aqueduct itself, from Long Pond to the borders of the city. Let us suppose, however, that it will cost three or four millions of dollars. On this amount the annual interest at five per cent will be a hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand dollars. The amount of city tax now collected is between seven hundred and eight hundred thousand dollars. If there is not a cent of return from the water-works, the only difference will be that instead of being taxed sixty cents on a hundred dollars, if the works cost two and a half millions, we shall be taxed sixty-eight or seventy cents; if the works cost three millions, we shall be taxed seventy or seventy-two cents (I do not go into an exact calculation); if they cost four millions, with an interest of two hun-

dred thousand, we shall be taxed eighty-five cents. Put it in the worst possible form, what is the difference? Would there be anything very distressing in being taxed ten or fifteen per cent more than we are now for such an object, when we should then be less taxed than most cities in this country?

"But let us look on the other side for a moment. An eminent president of an insurance company in this city, Mr. Cartwright, estimates the combustible property here at one hundred millions of dollars, and the average rate of insurance on this is forty cents on one hundred dollars. The best judges in these matters are of opinion that these rates would fall to thirty cents immediately on the construction of a work like that proposed. There you have a hundred thousand dollars a year, clear gain, to start with. Again, the city now owns six million feet of land on the Neck which has no water and no means of providing water. At present prices it is worth four or five millions. Is it too much to say that the increased value of this land, were it provided with water, would be a million dollars? The interest on this is fifty thousand dollars a year; and here there are a hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year towards this interest. Then there are the large appropriations for these miserable reservoirs (better than nothing, I confess), which, with the repairs, may be placed at twenty thousand dollars a year. This would make a hundred and seventy thousand dollars. Then there is a saving to the shipping interest of fifteen or twenty thousand dollars a year for water. And this will give you nearly the interest on the largest sum which the objectors suggest that the work will cost. The saving to the city itself by these universal advantages will create a sum sufficient, calculating the interest at five per cent on both sides of the account, to meet the highest estimate of expense.

"But this is not all. We have a taxable property in real estate of seventy or eighty millions of dollars. I may not be accurate as to the precise amount, but it does not matter. What will be the increased value of this from the introduction of water? It is my opinion that the increased value will be much more than the whole cost of the works. I go further, as a holder of real property, — not dwelling-houses into which the water may be introduced (I own but one, and that I live in; very well supplied with water, too, gentlemen), — and I had rather have a dry tax

laid upon my property for its share of the whole cost of the works than not to have the water brought in. And I say this merely as a matter of dollars and cents. I say too, gentlemen, that they are making a great mistake, as business men, in opposing this project, and I think that they will be makers of money, instead of losers, by bringing in this water.

"There are some other considerations. In a city like this, of ample means, it is a matter of duty and conscience, of humanity and patriotism, which a devotion to the public welfare demands of every citizen, of all men of all kinds, to make this provision for the wants of the whole community. We have no excuse to withhold this provision from those less favored than ourselves. What is the difference between withholding water and withholding bread? Here is a man who says he has a good cistern and a sufficient supply of water. His neighbor has no water, and you ask him what he will do with him. He says, Let him take care of himself. But if you had told him that this neighbor had no bread, he would feel it his duty to put his hand into his pocket at once and buy him a loaf. But what is the difference between the two cases? Humanity, patriotism, and honor require that we should provide pure and wholesome water for the whole community, and abundance of it. I want every man to pay for it who can afford to pay. I want to have it brought in by the city, and that every man shall pay who can afford to pay; and whoever cannot afford to pay, I want him to have it without money and without price.

"I have heard it said, and I have been told over and over again, that this would be a perpetual mortgage on our estates. I have been asked, Are you willing to mortgage your property for this purpose? I say yes, as I would for any other object of necessity. Every city debt is a mortgage on our property. So is your salary, Mr. Mayor, and that of every other city officer. So are the expenses of our sewers, drains, and streets. Every tax of necessity is liable to the same objection; for the services are paid for before the money is received. Take the case of our Almshouse in South Boston. We do not hesitate to provide the poor, who are obliged to live there, with proper bread and food. What is the difference? Are not bread and water the same thing? And is not our tax of seven hundred and fifty

thousand dollars for these paupers a mortgage? Therefore I say that I am willing that my property shall be mortgaged for this purpose.

"I will just allude, sir, to some of the objections to this Bill. Some say that we have water enough to provide against fires and everything else. This objection has been pretty satisfactorily answered. Others say that the Bill is anti-democratic. I confess that there are some things in it which might be changed. With regard to the choice of Commissioners it involves a conflict of power. It requires a joint vote of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council. This ought not to be so. It ought to be amended, and it may be so. But will you throw away this great boon for which you have been looking so long, for these small details? The main thing, however, appears to be that the Commissioners cannot be removed without a vote of two thirds of the whole City Council, and that they are to be paid an enormous sum, not less than three thousand dollars, for their services. I hope I shall be excused if I say a few words about this matter of salaries. You all desire that if this work is to be done at all, it shall be done well. This cannot be done without you employ men of integrity, science, and skill. How are you to obtain these men? Do you expect to obtain men who have spent their lives in the acquisition of scientific knowledge, for a salary for a few years of ten or fifteen hundred dollars, which they must then give up? I will tell you what my experience has been. I have done many things in my time, expended a great deal of money on buildings, machinery, canals, railroads, and such things. I cannot do these things myself: the first thing then that I have to do is to find a man in whom I can place confidence, — a man of honesty, energy, and skill; and I found long ago that if I wanted such a man I must pay for him. I cannot get a good mechanic to do a job without I pay for him. What is the fact with regard to these engineers? Why, a man to whom I have no doubt the city looked as one who might well be placed at the head of this work has been taken up within these three weeks at a salary of five thousand dollars a year, — a permanent salary. Then there was Major Whistler, of the Engineer Corps, who was engaged in the Western Railroad, — a man of skill, integrity, and honor. I have no doubt he might have obtained many thousands a year for works of this

kind in this country; but his fame became known, and the Emperor of Russia, through his Minister here, has engaged him to build the road between Petersburg and Moscow, four or five hundred miles, a very difficult work, for ten or twelve thousand dollars a year. I ask you, Mr. Chairman, do you expect to obtain these men at small salaries? If you do, you will be disappointed. They can't be found for a small sum.

"Then as to the mode of appropriation. The Bill has laid out that; and the conservative part of it, that the Commissioners cannot be turned out except for misconduct, is a very good feature of it. It has been objected to; but if I had the work in my own hands I should not wish to alter it. It is said to be anti-democratic! It would not be anti-democratic for a private company to bring in the water and to charge what they please for it. Is it anti-democratic to have hydrants in the streets without charge? That is in the Bill. But all this it is hardly worth while to go into. It is all clap-trap, worth nothing beyond the hope of defeating the Bill.

"Then as to the place from which the water is to be brought. We get from the Bill the designation of two places, — Long Pond and Charles River. I am willing for the constituted authorities to say which of these it shall come from. I shall be satisfied with their decision, and so I believe will you. It is left with them by the Bill, and they are abundantly able to decide.

"The next objection is that the water should be brought in by a private corporation. Now I have some experience about this. In 1835 several gentlemen felt that there was much want of water in the city, and this too was when the population was less and the suffering of the people vastly less. They thought it best to make the attempt to relieve this want by private means. They applied to the City Government for leave to do this, and they applied for an exclusive charter. The City Government replied — very properly, as I think — that they ought not to grant this; that the city ought to have the control of this matter; that it could not give an exclusive charter; that it would charter ten companies if they were called for. You know that no prudent men could undertake this without the exclusive privilege; for other companies would be formed, or at last the city would rise up in its might and bring in the water

for itself at its own expense. Now what is the chance that the Spot Pond Corporation will do anything? Their subscription paper has been in circulation, to my knowledge, twelve or eighteen months. They call it a corporation. Well, how do they get on? There are several individuals in the city, large holders of real property, who are against bringing in water from any source. These gentlemen have subscribed; and, as I saw myself, one gentleman, who is taxed on two hundred thousand dollars, has put down the enormous sum of one thousand dollars. What is his confidence in the plan? In the first place, this corporation will not supply the whole city. What will the rest do? Why, as they did in Baltimore: other companies will be established; the city will be imperfectly supplied until the mass of the people themselves rise, until "the ground tier is started," and the city takes the matter in hand. The largest subscription to this corporation is ten thousand dollars, and that by a gentleman who is taxed for six hundred thousand. I have told him that the stock cannot be all taken up unless he and its other supporters take fifty thousand each. They cannot expect this to be done by men who are not rich. The great mechanic interest will not invest in this: they have other means of investing their money. This must be done by the capital of the town; but the capital of the town is not going into a private corporation. The only way in which this water will be brought in is at the city's expense, as it ought to be brought in.

"I feel a deep interest in this matter; not a private interest, except as every one has a private interest in it. I own no land to be benefited by it; my property is all covered with buildings; my real estate will be benefited in common with others; but all who own land will be benefited. And I repeat that the large owners of land, whether built upon or not, will be more benefited than any others.

"I am one of those who feel this matter so deeply that I am willing to spend and be spent in the cause. I know the responsibility of coming here and advocating a city debt. I feel it and know it. But I know, too, the responsibility of those who oppose this Bill, who may perhaps defeat the adoption of it. I should not be willing to stand in their place here, after we had had, perhaps, a Pittsburg illustration of this necessity, — a fire, reaching perhaps from Washington Street to Winnisim-

met Ferry. Do you want that, to convince you that it is absolutely necessary, that it is of vital importance, to have this supply? I want no such exhibition here. There has been more property destroyed by fire in this city within twenty years than would defray the whole cost of this work.

"I have brought myself to this point, that I would go for this Bill if only to provide the means for extinguishing fire; and I believe, as a holder of property, that in twenty years I shall be a gainer by it.

"I put it to you now, whether you are willing to cast under your feet this great boon, obtained with so much labor and perseverance. I say, No. I go for Water; and if the Bill is not exactly what we wish, let us take it as it is, amend it as we can, and do the best we can with it. It is a good Bill as it is. I do hope, fellow-citizens, that you will not only go to the polls yourselves to vote for it, but that you will hold ward meetings and carry your neighbors to vote. For now or never is this thing to be done. In your time or mine we shall not achieve this blessing again. You cannot often get men without pay and without reward, and sometimes, it has been said, with a little gentle abuse, to devote their time to carry through such a measure. If the majority is against the Bill, I shall submit. My opinion will not change, — I can live as long without water as others. But I shall be mortified for the character of the city. I love and glory in its fame and honor and public spirit. It would be strange indeed if in a city in which more money is raised for scientific, literary, and religious purposes than in any other city of the country, — it would be strange if the people of Boston should throw away a boon so necessary to their happiness, both moral and physical.

"I hope that all will look at this Bill honestly and without quibbling. When we come to great things let us not quibble. Come up and look at this Bill as it is, and go to the polls and vote for it. I beg and beseech you not, at this hour and moment, after the work has all been done, to let it pass from you. It is in your power, and there is hardly anything fair, honorable, and above-board that I will not do to secure it.

"I crave your pardon for having talked so long, but my interest in the subject has induced me to prolong my remarks. I hope we shall have another meeting next week and a full hall;

and if my voice can do the slightest good, I am willing to come here again."

The "Daily Advertiser" adds: "Mr. Lawrence closed amid loud applause. His speech had been received throughout with much enthusiasm, and he had been interrupted with frequent bursts of cheers." But the expression of the popular will at the polls was against the measure for the time. The vote was taken on the 19th of May, and stood, yeas 3670, nays 3999. The following toast, drunk at the dinner of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, in June of that year, illustrates the nature and strength of the public feeling against it:

"The City of Boston, — As jealous of despotic power in 1845, when it comes in the garb of pure water, as it was in 1775, when it came disguised in the form of tea."

This toast called forth a very clever satire, which appeared in the "Daily Advertiser" of June 19, 1845, in the form of a letter, signed "Rabble," purporting to sustain the position of those who had been denouncing the Water Act as "anti-democratic," "despotic," containing "monstrous features," and "aiming a blow at the liberties of the people." Said "Rabble:" —

"It is alarming to think that so insidious a design upon the liberties of Boston came so near its consummation. But for a few vigilant sentinels upon the watch-towers, who saw the storm coming from afar, and preached against the threatening deluge with more success than Noah did on a like occasion, we should have been in a few years submerged, as it were, in a sea of despotism. . . . Baths, fountains, and pure water! Where do they flourish most, and by whom are they held in highest esteem? In Russia, that terrible despotism, they are universal. In Turkey, in Mahometan Turkey, they are the grand passion of every class. In Rome, in Papal Rome, baths and fountains are the chief instruments of perpetuating superstition and ecclesiastical tyranny. . . . Boston has been in great danger;

nor has the danger passed. The clouds, surcharged with water, still lower above the peninsular city. The aristocrats of Beacon and Park Streets, the conspirators of Temple Place and Colonnade Row, are privily at work. . . . The landmarks of our constitutional liberties will be supplanted by water-marks, hydrants, hose and pipes, — pipes which, like their designing authors, wriggle their tortuous way in darkness underground, loosening the very foundations of the city. We shall no longer be able to live in the constitutional dirt to which we were born. We are to be treated as tyrannic nurses treat their tender care. Our civic faces are to be scrubbed by our nursing civic fathers, unless we squall lustily, and vindicate 'the freedom of the soil,' which is our American birthright. Are not democracies always known as the great unwashed? And shall we resign the very title-deed of our democratic principles without a struggle against this deluge of oligarchy?"

Referring to Mr. Lawrence and other "magnates of the first water," who "pretend great regard for the health of the people, but it is only what an ancient poet calls 'fawning with a watery friendship,'" the writer concluded by saying that, if these men had their way, we should soon be "but little better off than New York," which was then busy with the construction of the Croton Water-Works.

Fortunately for the city, these "magnates of the first water" did at length have their way. A second act, approved March 30, 1846, was submitted to the voters on the 13th of April following, and was adopted by a large majority, — yeas 4,637, nays 348. On the 25th of October, 1848, under the mayoralty of the younger Quincy, the Cochituate water was brought into Boston; and Mr. Lawrence lived long enough to see all his predictions more than verified.

Mr. Lawrence was always a firm supporter of the citizen soldiery of the Commonwealth; and at a time when its importance was generally undervalued, and when the probability that it would ever be called again into active

service was very remote, he availed himself of every opportunity to urge the necessity of maintaining it at a high standard of efficiency. As a young man he had assisted in organizing the New England Guards, one of the most popular and best trained volunteer companies in the State, and during the War of 1812 he had done duty in its ranks. Thirty-two years later there was a parade, followed by a dinner, in which the older and the younger members of the corps participated together, thirty-two of the original Guards being present. The dinner took place at the United States Hotel, September 17, 1844. Mr. George Sullivan, the second captain, who was then living in New York, presided; and among the speakers were Mr. Franklin Dexter, Mr. George Tyler Bigelow, afterwards Chief Justice of the Commonwealth, and Mr. Lawrence. A friend had asked that morning, "Mr. Lawrence, is it true that you are coming out as a soldier to-day with the Guards?" "Yes," was the reply. "Well, that is most extraordinary; why do you do such a thing?" Mr. Lawrence's speech was an answer to this question.

We live in a country, he said, whose government is founded in public opinion, and whose defence against outward aggression and inward commotion must be dependent upon citizen soldiers. He had always, from the time of the formation of the company, of which he was an original member, been in favor of sustaining the militia system; and during that period of time when speculations in morals, religion, and government pressed on that system (he appealed to many of his old friends present) he entertained the same opinions as now, upon upholding this glorious arm of public defence established by our Pilgrim Fathers. "Sir," said he, "this institution has gone through a fiery trial in this Commonwealth. It has been attacked by all sorts and conditions of men; but I trust it has lived long enough, and done service enough, to commend itself now and hereafter to the well-

disposed, right-thinking men of all parties." He felt a deep and abiding interest in the welfare of the country. Its fair escutcheon has been disgraced by scenes of violence and bloodshed. A wound has been inflicted upon the fair fame of our Republic by outbreaks of violence in a sister city. He made no apology there or elsewhere for having borne arms on that occasion. He believed that the impression produced by the parade would have a salutary effect upon the public mind. He wished, so far as he was concerned, that the evil-doers, if there were such in our own community, who were inclined to take the law into their own hands, might understand that there was a body of men, and a large one too, behind the regularly organized militia, and not liable by law to be ordered out, who were ready at all times, with arms in their hands, to defend the Constitution and Laws. He said that for one (and he had no doubt every gentleman who heard him would make the same declaration, and he was willing to say it to his country) he would hold himself ready at all times to aid in putting down any and every insurrectionary movement intended to subvert the laws.

Mr. Lawrence, says the "Atlas," from whose columns his remarks are taken, continued with great earnestness: "You and I, sir, served in the company at a period that tried men's souls. We commenced with the war and served during its continuance; and for one I am ready to put on the armor again for my country's honor. Look at the disgraceful scenes that have occurred in Philadelphia! Could such a state of things have taken place in Boston?" (Cries of No! No!) "I say No, gentlemen, and as long as a drop of Revolutionary blood remains in my veins I will say No, for I am ready to peril my life in defence of law and order."

The effect of these words, we are told, was electrical. Every member, old and young, sprang to his feet, and nine hearty cheers demonstrated that these sentiments

found a response in every heart. Mr. Lawrence went on to say that he had already taken up too much time, but he could not forbear giving one or two anecdotes that came to his mind at the moment. Seeing one of his old comrades before him, he would relate an incident that occurred while the Guards were on duty during the war. In 1815 the frigate *Constitution* was chased into Marblehead by two British men-of-war. There were no means of defence in that town, and the expectation was that the enemy's vessels would attack the *Constitution* in port. An express arrived at the navy-yard, which was then commanded by Commodore Bainbridge. It was on Sunday, immediately after the afternoon service. Commodore Bainbridge made a requisition for the New England Guards and other troops to march at once to Marblehead, to defend the favorite frigate. At that period of time the Guards were constantly in uniform. In three quarters of an hour they were on their march to Marblehead. There was great excitement in Boston. Charlestown Bridge was lined with people, and Charlestown Square was filled with enthusiastic citizens. The company were cheered by the people as they passed along, and, having arrived at the navy-yard, they waited there for further orders. Mr. Lawrence had in his eye a gentleman then in the line, and immediately in front of him, who said, "Lawrence, I came away in such a hurry that I forgot my boots; I have on only a pair of pumps, which have broken away, and my feet are on the ground." At that instant a young man who stood in the crowd said, "Here, take my boots," pulling them off. "Put them on," he added, "and wear them on board the *Constitution*, but if you are taken, throw the boots overboard." [1]

[1] In the *Memorial History of Boston*, Vol. III. p. 345, this anecdote is given substantially as above, but Mr. Lawrence is mentioned as the soldier who received the boots, and it is said that he gave the young man five dollars for them. Mr. Lawrence's is the better story, and has the advantage of being the true one.

After alluding in touching language to the beautiful exhibition of father and son bearing arms together on the interesting occasion, and expressing the opinion that the company before him were not inferior — in discipline, in character, and in patriotic devotion to the public welfare — to their fathers of the Old Guards, he exhorted them to maintain that valuable institution, and any other designed to uphold constitutional liberty, as they had been transmitted by their fathers, and closed with the following sentiment: —

The Original Guards, — Happy in the recollection of having responded to the call of their country in the day of demand, and confident in the belief that their successors have been and ever will be ready to uphold the reputation of the corps by deeds of patriotic devotion.[1]

[1] The following has been preserved among Mr. Lawrence's papers: —

Boston, April 17, 1814.

COMPANY ORDERS.

Brigade and Regimental Orders of the 16th April current, this day received, announce signals of alarm in the event of an attack on our harbor or its vicinity; and all companies are required to hold themselves in readiness to appear at their several company parades, at a moment's warning, by signals or otherwise. Sergeant Peabody will accordingly notify the members of the NEW ENGLAND GUARDS, that they are ordered to assemble at their armory, in uniform complete, with blue pantaloons, on the firing of two guns quick in succession, and display of a red flag, at the Navy Yard in Charlestown, by day; or the firing of three guns quick in succession, and display of two lanterns perpendicular, in the Navy Yard, at night; or on the tolling of the bells by day or night in Boston. Promptness and punctuality are expected.

GEORGE SULLIVAN, Capt.

April 17th, 1814.

Pursuant to the preceding Order, you are hereby notified and warned to appear at the company's armory on notice by either of the signals mentioned above, in uniform complete, with blue pantaloons.

Per order,

A. PEABODY, *O. S. pro tem.*

Mr. Abbott Lawrence.

CHAPTER VII.

SERVICE IN CONGRESS. — THE ASHBURTON TREATY.

Men of business in the United States, in our day especially, are inclined to think that they have no time or thought to spare for public affairs. Some of them say plainly that in attending exclusively to their own concerns they can make more money than in devoting themselves in any degree to politics, and many more seem to act upon some such idea as this, although they do not put it into words. It is true, the spirit of partisanship has so degraded our politics, the issues between the opposing parties have to so large an extent become mere struggles for place and pelf, and so many of those who are influential in the caucus and successful in gaining office are thoroughly selfish and utterly indifferent to, if not ignorant of, all considerations of political morality and of the permanent welfare and safety of the body politic, — that men of honor, integrity, and independence, men of the first rank, whether in mercantile or professional life, are too often repelled from scenes, associations, and aims so unworthy and so unpromising; but to despair of politics in this country is to despair of the country itself, and to refuse to participate in political controversy and struggle in the ordinary times of peace is as unpatriotic and may prove as mischievous as to withhold personal service and sympathy in the exigency of war. Mr. Lawrence recognized the claims of his country upon him at all times, in peace no less than in

war. He was too sagacious not to understand that the only true and lasting prosperity for the individual citizen is dependent upon the general well-being of the nation, and he was too liberal-minded and public-spirited to desire to leave to others the unshared burden of political responsibilities and the sole performance of political duties which, he knew, belonged in part to himself. He did not regard office for its own sake, nor did he refuse to accept it, when such acceptance did not seem to conflict with other claims upon him. In 1831 he served as a representative from Ward Seven, in the Common Council of Boston. Mr. Harrison Gray Otis was Mayor during that year, and two gentlemen then in the municipal government, Mr. Samuel T. Armstrong of the Board of Aldermen, and Mr. John Prescott Bigelow (Mrs. Lawrence's brother) of the Common Council, were afterwards elected to the chief magistracy of the city.

In 1834 Mr. Lawrence was elected to a seat in the House of Representatives at Washington. He became a leading member of the Committee of Ways and Means, and, as a man of practical ability, large experience, and high character must always do, he exerted a marked influence upon the legislation of Congress during the two years of his membership. He felt obliged to decline a re-election, although he was assured that if he would take the nomination again the opposite party would not bring forward a candidate against him, — a remarkable compliment, when we remember the bitterness with which both Whigs and Democrats were in the habit of attacking each other in those days. On his return from Washington in the spring of 1837, his constituents, as we have already had occasion to mention, invited him to meet and address them at a public dinner; this compliment he declined in a letter in which he discussed the state of the country at the time. Two years later he consented to accept a second nomination, and he again took his seat in the

House. "It was a disastrous session for him," says Mr. Prescott; "for shortly after his arrival he was attacked by typhus fever of so malignant a type that, for some time, small hopes were entertained of his recovery. But he had good advice, and his fine constitution and the care of his devoted wife enabled him, by the blessing of Providence, to get the better of his disorder. It left behind, however, the seeds of another malady, in an enlargement of the liver, which caused him much suffering in after life, and finally brought him to the grave."

The "Boston Daily Advertiser" of September 22, 1840, announced Mr. Lawrence's resignation in the following terms: —

We are sorry to learn, from the following letter, that the state of Mr. Lawrence's health is such as to oblige him to abandon the hope of being able to resume the discharge of his duties at Washington. It is a station at all times of great importance to the interests of our citizens, and it would at the present time have been particularly gratifying to be able to avail ourselves of the knowledge and experience of Mr. Lawrence, if the state of his health would have admitted of it.

Boston, September 18, 1840.

Dear Sir, — In consequence of protracted ill health, I feel myself compelled to resign my seat in Congress. I had hoped, until recently, to have avoided this alternative, and to have recovered sufficient strength to be able to perform my Congressional duties the ensuing session. My medical counsellors, however, have unanimously advised me not to attempt any legislative duties for the present. I regret exceedingly, on my own account, that I am obliged to take such a step at this particular moment, when *we*, who have been in a minority for twelve years, are about to realize that change in the administration of the government for which we have been so zealously contending; and I confess I should like to retain the office, with which the people have honored me, until that change shall have been fully consummated. That this event is certain to take place, I have little doubt. I believe

that the majority of the people are convinced that the present Executive and his immediate predecessor have not administered the government in accordance with the principles upon which it was founded, and that opinions have been expressed and measures adopted that have proved essentially detrimental to the prosperity of the people, and inimical to the very existence of our civil institutions.

I am rejoiced that we are about to be relieved from the noxious views of theorists, many of whom have taken up the repudiated doctrines and principles of political European speculators, and have attempted to apply them to us.

I had hoped to have remained in public life long enough to take part in the settlement of a few prominent questions. Among them are those concerning the currency, the tariff, internal improvements, and the public lands, all of which demand the early and serious attention of Congress. Yet, however agreeable it might be to me personally to represent the people of this district, I feel that I should be doing them injustice to retain my seat without the prospect of being able to perform all the duties which are incumbent upon their representative. I therefore not only feel bound to resign my seat, but to decline being a candidate for election to the Twenty-seventh Congress, and respectfully request that you will communicate this determination to the members of the convention.

I cannot close this note without expressing through you, to the people of this district, my grateful acknowledgments for the high confidence they have reposed in me, and for the support I have at all times received at their hands in the discharge of my official duties. I avail myself also of this occasion to say that the kind sympathy expressed for me, during a long and dangerous illness, will never cease to be remembered with the most sincere gratitude.

I have the honor to remain, dear sir, with the highest respect,

Your friend and obedient servant,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

PHILIP MARETT, Esq.,
Chairman of the County Convention.

Mr. Webster, when told in 1850 of the nomination of Mr. William Appleton for Congress, said: "He is the best man who could be nominated. Boston should send commercial men to Congress; they are infinitely more useful than lawyers; and when Boston has been represented by commercial men, she has always been better represented than at any other time. Mr. Appleton will have more influence than a dozen lawyers." When Mr. Webster made this remark, he undoubtedly had in mind the Congressional services of Mr. Lawrence, and of Mr. Nathan Appleton, who had preceded him.

Mr. Lawrence entered into the political campaign of 1840 with his accustomed earnestness, and did all that his physical strength would permit to make good the prediction in his letter of resignation as to a change of administration. On the eve of election-day he presided over an enthusiastic Whig meeting in Faneuil Hall, and soon after he was rejoicing over the election of General Harrison, by a majority greater than even he could have anticipated. The victory, however, was to be a barren one, for President Harrison lived for a few weeks only, and John Tyler succeeded to the vacant chair.

On General Harrison's accession to the presidency in 1841, the relations of the United States with Great Britain had become to the last degree, critical. The misunderstandings on both sides, and the complications, had been multiplying and accumulating year by year; and but for the moderation of the leading men in the two governments the supreme calamity of war could hardly have been averted. So grave was the situation in the judgment of the American Minister in London, Mr. Stevenson, that he felt it his duty to put himself in communication with the commander of the American squadron in the Mediterranean; and Mr. Webster afterwards said to the people of Boston: "I will tell you, in general terms, that if all that was known at Washington then had been com-

municated throughout the country, the shipping interest of this city, and every other interest connected with the commerce of the country, would have been depressed one half in six hours." The question of the Northeastern Boundary had been the subject of negotiation almost ever since the Peace of 1783; all the expedients of diplomacy had been exhausted in the vain endeavor to settle it; and the King of the Netherlands, who had been appealed to as arbitrator, had been unable to solve the difficulty. Then there were the questions of impressment, the extradition of fugitives, and the suppression of the slave trade,—the latter involving the right of search, or of "visitation," as Lord Palmerston preferred to call it. There was also the affair of the *Caroline*, a dispute arising from the Canadian troubles of 1837, which had embroiled us with our neighbors on the north; and, superadded to all the rest, came the matter of the *Creole* in the autumn of 1841, and the liberation of its cargo of human beings by the Governor of the Bahamas, which aroused all the susceptibilities of the slave-holding and slave-trading communities within our own borders in the South.

It was well that at such a juncture there should be a change of administration in both countries, so that men might come fresh to the work of negotiation, untrammelled by anything previously said or done by them. Just six months after the Whig administration came into office in Washington, the Ministry of Lord Melbourne resigned, and was succeeded by that of Sir Robert Peel,—with Lord Aberdeen for Foreign Secretary, Sir James Graham as Home Secretary, and Mr. Gladstone, Lord Lincoln, and Mr. Sidney Herbert in minor offices. Mr. Everett (from 1836 to 1840 Governor of Massachusetts) had succeeded Mr. Stevenson in London, and in the month of December Lord Aberdeen communicated to him the instructions which had been given by his Government to the British cruisers for their guidance in their search

for slavers. In reference to these instructions President Tyler afterwards said, in a Message to Congress, "These declarations may well lead us to doubt whether the apparent difference between the two Governments is not rather one of definition than of principle," — a view of the question ultimately taken by Congress also. A few days later, December 27, 1841, Lord Aberdeen informed Mr. Everett, at an interview to which he had invited him, that the British Government had determined to send a special mission to the United States, and that Lord Ashburton had been selected as plenipotentiary, with full powers to settle every question in controversy. This intelligence was received with the utmost satisfaction by President Tyler and by his Secretary of State, Mr. Webster, who cordially reciprocated the conciliatory spirit of the new British Ministry, and prepared a cordial welcome for the distinguished envoy when he should arrive.

But the appointment and expected coming of Lord Ashburton on his mission of peace at first only made more apparent the difficulties which surrounded the settlement of the Northeastern Boundary question. Mr. Everett, in his Biographical Memoir of Mr. Webster, says: —

"The points in dispute in reference to the boundary had for years been the subject of discussion, more or less, throughout the country, but especially in Massachusetts and Maine (the States having an immediate territorial interest in its decision), and, above all, in the last-named State. Parties differing on all other great questions emulated each other in the zeal with which they asserted the American side of this dispute. . . . The first step taken by Mr. Webster, after receiving the directions of the President in reference to the negotiation, was to invite the co-operation of Massachusetts and Maine, the territory in dispute being the property of the two States, and under the jurisdiction of the latter. The extent of the treaty-making power of the United States, in a matter of such delicacy as the cession of territory claimed by a State to be within its limits, belongs to the more difficult class of constitutional doctrines.

. . . The administration of Mr. Tyler took for granted that the full consent of Massachusetts and Maine was necessary to any adjustment of this great dispute on the principle of mutual cession and equivalents, or any other principle than that of the ascertainment of the true, original line of boundary by agreement, mutual commission, or arbitration. Communications were therefore addressed to the governors of the two States. Massachusetts had anticipated the necessity of the measure, and made provision for the appointment of commissioners. The Legislature of Maine was promptly convened for the same purpose by the late Governor Fairfield. Four parties were thus in presence at Washington for the management of the negotiation, — the United States and Great Britain, Massachusetts and Maine. Recollecting that the question to be settled was one which had defied all the arts of diplomacy for half a century, it seemed to a distant, and especially an European observer, as if the last experiment, exceeding every former step in its necessary complications, was destined to a failure proportionably signal and ignominious. The course pursued by the American Secretary, in making the result of the negotiation relative to the boundary contingent upon the approval of the State commissioners, was regarded in Europe as decidedly ominous of its failure."

The commissioners appointed on the part of Massachusetts were Messrs. Abbott Lawrence, John Mills, and Charles Allen; on the part of Maine, they were Messrs. Edward Kavanagh, Edward Kent, William Pitt Preble, and John Otis. They were selected without reference to party views, and they fairly represented the public opinion of the two States.

For every reason the choice of Mr. Lawrence as a negotiator in behalf of Massachusetts was a most fortunate one. Like Lord Ashburton, he was a man of great practical experience, he had dealt successfully with large pecuniary interests, he had learned lessons of mutual concession and conciliation in the not unworthy rivalries of the mart and the exchange, and he had become accustomed to look at all questions in their broadest relations.

Like him, also, he had social position and possessed personal qualities which gave emphasis to his opinions and judgments. The two were peculiarly adapted to meet each other on the opposite sides of such controversies as were now, if possible, to be adjusted by their joint efforts; and in a kindred spirit, although each in his own way and from his own point of view, they diligently sought for, and in due time they reached, a basis of settlement equally equitable and honorable for all parties concerned. Referring to Mr. Lawrence's special qualifications for the work of negotiation, Mr. Prescott says: —

"There was an ample field for the exercise of these powers on the present occasion, when prejudices of long standing were to be encountered, when pretensions of the most opposite kind were to be reconciled, when the pertinacity with which these pretensions had been maintained had infused something like a spirit of acrimony into the breasts of the disputants. Yet no acrimony could stand long against the genial temper of Mr. Lawrence, or against that spirit of candor and reasonable concession which called forth a reciprocity of sentiment in those he had to deal with. The influence which he thus exerted over his colleagues contributed, in no slight degree, to a concert of action between them. Indeed, without derogating from the merits of the other delegates, it is not too much to say that, but for the influence exerted by Mr. Lawrence on this occasion, the treaty, if it had been arranged at all, would never have been brought into the shape which it now wears."

Mr. Lawrence's influence was hardly less valuable with the President than with his colleagues; for the former had misgivings at different stages in the negotiation which it required much tact and patience to remove, and in dealing with which Mr. Webster was glad to avail himself of the aid of his eminent friend. At length all difficulties were overcome; the susceptibilities of the various parties in interest were met, and their conflicting claims harmonized; the sanction of the Senate was given, and the proceedings were brought to a close.

Lord Ashburton was heartily welcomed, and made a most favorable impression, wherever he went in this country. In Boston he was officially received by the Mayor, Mr. Jonathan Chapman, at Faneuil Hall (August 31, 1842); and in the course of his remarks he referred to a visit he had made to the town half a century before. He was present at the Phi Beta Kappa dinner at Cambridge; and on the eve of his departure from New York a dinner was given to him at the Astor House. In England his work was generally approved, and was recognized by a formal vote of thanks in Parliament. It received some hostile criticism there and elsewhere, and some faint praise; but the general result of peace with which it had been crowned was accepted with thankfulness by almost everybody. The "Times" gave only a qualified approbation to the several provisions of the treaty, but it rejoiced heartily over the prospect of a better understanding and of more amicable relations between the two governments. It said: —

"We hail, as a serious and permanent boon to this country and the United States, the termination of Lord Ashburton's mission to America, furnishing, as it has done, a peaceful settlement of a variety of questions, — some immediately menacing, and all ministering an ever ready occasion of mischief at any time when the British and American governments found themselves hostilely disposed."

It then considered the various questions which were awaiting adjustment at the opening of the negotiations. "With the settlement of the Boundary question," it said, "little fault can be found." The concession of the navigation of the St. John River through New Brunswick to its mouth, it looked upon "with a suspicious eye." The article respecting the slave trade it declared to be unimportant enough; "it settles nothing." On the subject of impressment nothing had been done, because Lord Ash-

burton had not been empowered to treat with reference to it. The differences relating to the *Creole*, the *Caroline*, and McLeod had been put at rest in a correspondence which would be before the world in due time. It proceeded further: —

"This is a short statement of what has been effected, and for this, on the whole, we cannot but express our sincere gratitude to the envoy who has carried into effect, and to the Cabinet which has directed, the present mission. To Lord Aberdeen, we presume, is the credit more especially due of having furnished the instructions by which the powers of the English plenipotentiary were to be directed and controlled. He has done it wisely, temperately, and with success. England, indeed, has secured no striking advantage, has accomplished no increase of power or privilege, has received no provinces under her protection, has pushed her fleets into no fresh region of adventure. But it was not with these purposes that the task was undertaken. It was an effort at pacification, and in that object it appears, with no loss of English honor, to have fully and completely succeeded. . . . Independent of the ancient questions of boundary and impressment, America was considered by the retiring ministers as one of the most unmanageable and perplexing legacies which they bequeathed to the treatment of their successors. That mischievous *employé*, Stevenson, had quitted the country, boasting of the discord which he left behind him. Lord Palmerston chuckled with similar anticipations; and after he had relinquished the bureau of the Foreign Office, still another subject was added to the already threatening list of differences, by the liberation of the slaves of the *Creole*. It required all our faith in the wise and pacific inclinations of the two governments to support us in our expectations of permanent peace. Good men doubted, and knaves predicted with confidence and glee a speedy rupture. We owe Lords Aberdeen and Ashburton thanks for the fact that not only has the cloud blown over, but that at no period within the memory of man has America shown more hearty signs of a warm and amicable feeling towards this country, than in the kindness with which she has welcomed, and the enthusiasm with which she has dismissed from her shores, the British ambassador of peace."

In the United States, while there was a very decided expression of dissent, on the part of some, from the positions laid down by Mr. Webster, in his correspondence before and during the negotiation, in reference to the question of the right of search and the case of the *Creole*,[1] the large credit due to him for his share in the conclusion of the treaty was freely accorded by his fellow-countrymen. Perhaps his services were allowed for a time to overshadow those of others, Mr. Lawrence's especially, without which he might not have been able to bring the negotiations to so successful a termination. This was not altogether strange, seeing that he was both Secretary of State and plenipotentiary, and that his signature alone appeared at the foot of the treaty, in behalf of the United States. But, by those most competent to judge, the value of the service performed by Mr. Lawrence was fully recognized. We have already quoted the opinion of Mr. Prescott. The testimony of Mr. Charles G. Loring is no less weighty and no less emphatic. At a meeting on the Boston Exchange, called to take suitable notice of the death of Joshua Bates, Mr. Loring, after speaking of the assistance rendered by Mr. Bates and Mr. William Sturgis in connection with the settlement of the Oregon Boundary question, added: —

[1] In a letter to Lord Morpeth, Mr. Sumner writes: "Webster is hoping to get back to the bar. He told me a week ago of Lord Aberdeen's reception of his note of last March, on what has been called the 'right of visit,' but which I call the 'right of inquiry.' It seems that Mr. Everett read Webster's note, when Lord Aberdeen made what seems to me — as it seemed to Webster — the extraordinary statement that he did not agree with the doctrine put forth by Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons on this subject. He added that his note — a very able one, I think — of December, 1841, was written *currente calamo;* and he was astonished that it had stood so well as it had. He found nothing important in Webster's note to take exception to, but he thought he might undertake to reply to one or two things in it. This he has never done; and Mr. Webster considers Lord Aberdeen a convert to his doctrine. If my Lord is a convert, there are some Americans who are not. Old Mr. Adams is not; and he is determined to find an occasion to express his views. He told me that he agreed entirely in the conclusion of two articles that I wrote on the subject, and which you read while in the country." — *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, Vol. II. pp. 276, 277.

"Another exhibition of remarkable ability and personal influence upon the welfare of nations, exercised by persons in mercantile life, appeared in the settlement of that most dangerous and difficult question of the Northeastern Boundary, which came so very near to involving us in war with England. The apparently immediate negotiators were not, indeed, both merchants, the United States being represented by Mr. Webster; but Lord Ashburton, formerly Mr. Alexander Baring, and the head of the celebrated house of which Mr. Bates was a member, and who had been raised to the peerage by reason of his extensive reputation, wealth, and influence as a merchant, was appointed to represent England for the especial purpose of settling that vexed question; and Mr. Abbott Lawrence, of whose eminence as a merchant I need not speak here, was appointed on the part of the State of Massachusetts as one of the commissioners to aid in the adjustment. And it is doing no injustice to Mr. Webster nor to any one else, to assert that by means of Mr. Lawrence's efforts and his influence upon the other commissioners, to him (quoting the words of Mr. Nathan Appleton) more than to any other individual is due the successful accomplishment of the negotiation which resulted in the important treaty of Washington, — a treaty, by the way, about which the most remarkable and unfounded perversions of the truth, implicating the intelligence of Lord Ashburton and the fairness of Mr. Webster, still prevail in England, notwithstanding an emphatic correction and denial of them afterwards by the British ministers in Parliament."

CHAPTER VIII.

A VISIT TO ENGLAND. — THE LOSS OF THE STEAMSHIP COLUMBIA.

In the summer of 1843 Mr. Lawrence determined to make another visit to Europe, for purposes of rest and recreation; and the trip is memorable, because he and Mrs. and Miss Lawrence (Mrs. Rotch) were on board the Cunard steamship *Columbia* when she was wrecked between Boston and Halifax. They sailed on Saturday, the 1st of July, and on the following day the ship ran ashore on Black Ledge, near Seal Island, the coastwise pilot who had her in charge having been deceived in his reckoning by an extraordinary indraught of the tide into the Bay of Fundy. The news of the disaster reached Bangor on the next Friday, and Boston, by special train from Portland, on Sunday afternoon. The Boston papers of Monday the 10th published the following from the "Bangor Gazette Extra" of the previous Friday afternoon: —

"The schooner *Three Sons*, Captain Kendrick, arrived at Mount Desert with the important information that the royal mail steamer *Columbia*, while going at the rate of ten knots in the fog, struck upon Black Ledge, near Seal Island, Nova Scotia, last Monday [Sunday] afternoon, with so much violence that the vessel was driven out of water five feet. When the schooner left, she was going to pieces, and was supposed would be a total loss. She is reported to have had one hundred and eighty persons on board, one of whom was missing. [1] Among

[1] A sailor had strayed away from the rest of the party, but returned afterward.

It was nearly thirty years before the Cunard Steamship Company lost another vessel. In 1872 the steamer *Tripoli* was wrecked off Tuskar, on her way to Queenstown and Boston.

them was the Hon. Abbott Lawrence, who paid Captain Kendrick one hundred dollars to bring the news to the nearest port in the United States. The passengers were waiting upon Seal Island for a steamer, for which they had sent to Halifax by brig *Arcade*, to take them off. Baggage, freight, etc., saved. Seal Island is off Townsend Bay, on the S. W. Coast of Nova Scotia."

The following letter from Mr. Lawrence to his son James also appeared in the papers of the 10th and 11th:

SEAL ISLAND, July 3, 1843.

MY DEAR SON, — We left Boston at quarter past two o'clock on the 1st instant, and experienced a most agreeable run till yesterday, at quarter past one, when (it being foggy) the *Columbia* struck on the Black Ledge, one and a quarter miles from this island, at high water. When the tide began to ebb, we saw large rocks on the larboard side, about ten fathoms' distance, and a long reef not a cable's length from us. Before half tide down, these rocks were four feet above the water. Soon after she struck, we commenced throwing over coal, which was continued through the day. At half past two we began firing our cannon; in half an hour after, we were answered by a musket, which relieved us from the most painful anxiety, as we were not quite certain where we were, and hoped it might be from the land. At four o'clock the fog lifted, and we had the inexpressible satisfaction of seeing a fishing schooner making for the ship with a small boat in tow. The captain of the schooner (Hitchings), who is the keeper of the lighthouse, came on board and gave us an account of our situation, which appeared anything but flattering. We soon concluded, as it was evident the *Columbia* was in a rocky berth, that it was prudent to take the ladies on shore (fourteen in number) besides several in the steerage and five or six children. This was accomplished at six o'clock, without injury to any one; and here we found two small houses, a mile or more distant from each other, inhabited by kind and efficient people, who exhibit all the sympathy and care we could desire. There are no other habitations upon the island, which is rough and barren. The nearest mainland is Barrington, which is twenty-five miles distant. This morning, at high tide, an attempt was made to float the ship, which

proved unsuccessful, and at half past two the captain requested the passengers (fifty in number) who remained on board to go on shore, about forty having landed last evening. The passengers are now all on shore, and one half the baggage. The mails are all here, and the remaining part of the baggage will be received in the course of an hour.

The opinion now is that the ship will be lost; she is very much strained, and has heeled over considerably. We have ninety-five passengers, and seventy-three officers, crew, etc., belonging to the ship, in all one hundred and sixty-eight souls. The captain has conducted himself with great coolness and courage, and displayed that energy and magnanimity that belong to his noble profession. And now, having no more time to write, I have only to say that I deem our preservation extraordinary: twenty yards on either side of the ship, with a moderate breeze, would have consigned us all to a watery grave.

Through the mercy of Almighty God, we have all been spared, living monuments of his protecting care; and we and you and all our friends should offer up to our Heavenly Father the homage of grateful hearts for this signal instance of his sparing mercy. The ladies and all the passengers have conducted themselves in a manner that should command our admiration. We shall send an express for a steamer to Halifax, which I suppose is nearly two hundred miles, we being now about two hundred and forty miles from Boston. We have provision enough for the present, and can make ourselves tolerably comfortable under all the circumstances in which we are placed. Your mother and sister are quite well, and I am better than could be expected after the anxiety and fatigue through which I have passed. I shall write the first opportunity. Do not, however, be anxious; the season is favorable, and I have no doubt we shall all be provided for.

In great haste, I remain, with the truest affection,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

P. S. It is justice to Captain Shannon to say that, as the ship was in charge of the pilot, of course he is exonerated from all blame.

This disaster was, we believe, only the third which had taken place during the four or five years in which steam-

ers had been running on the Atlantic. The steamship *President*, Lieutenant Roberts, R. N., commander, foundered, as is supposed, soon after leaving New York in the spring of 1841, and all on board perished; and the West India mail packet *Solway*, Captain Duncan, was wrecked off Corunna in April, 1843, and fifty persons, including the captain, were drowned. As compared with either of these events, the loss of the *Columbia* was not so great a calamity, for the whole ship's company came safe to land.[1] But the hazard had been imminent, and the papers had much to say about the affair for some time to come. A letter appeared in the "Atlas," written from Halifax, July 20, by Mr. Joseph T. Adams, who had been sent there probably to obtain further information, and we will quote one or two paragraphs from it: —

"It appears that the *Columbia*, while running at the rate of ten knots, ran up an inclined plane of smooth rock, and thus rested on the ledge, without the slightest injury to any person on board. The shock, although so fatal in its consequences to the ship, was in fact so gentle at the time as to render it for some minutes a matter of extreme doubt what had occurred. Some supposed that in the dense fog she had encountered a small vessel; others, that she had touched a shoal of sand or mud; while some supposed that it was merely the effect of the sea. But there she lay, fast by the head, with the stern rising and falling with the fluctuation of the waves. For some time no signs of rocks were visible. In the course of half an hour, as the tide fell, several pointed rocks showed their heads above water, and from the receding tide and from soundings it became evident that the vessel lay on an inclined plane of solid rock, with very dangerous rocky points within a few yards of the quarter.

[1] When Mr. Lawrence was in Europe in 1818, he made a visit to Holland and Belgium. While coming back to England, and on board the packet between Ostend and Margate, he was walking the deck, engaged in conversation with an English gentleman whose name even he did not know, when the vessel gave a sudden and violent lurch, and this gentleman was thrown overboard, and immediately and forever disappeared from view.

"Amid this appalling scene the most perfect order, decorum, and patience prevailed among all present; and the conduct of Captain Shannon was cool, collected, and judicious, — making every effort to get the ship off. But you have already had the details of the landing, etc.

"On shore, the next day, a meeting was organized, at the head of which was the Hon. Abbott Lawrence, for the provisional government of the community. This was done, with common consent, for the purpose of husbanding the provisions, water, and resources, for the general comfort and accommodation of all concerned. Being thus suddenly reduced, as it were, to a primitive state of nature, some such sort of organization was a matter of obvious convenience and necessity. It was soon found, however, that all the baggage was saved, and that an abundance of provisions had been rescued from the wreck. Thus they remained till taken to Halifax by the *Margaret* steamer."

The *Margaret* proceeded to England with the crew and most of the passengers of the *Columbia*. Mr. Lawrence and his party waited for the *Hibernia*, Captain Judkins, and during their stay in Halifax received many kind attentions from Lord Falkland, then Governor of Nova Scotia, and other influential and hospitable people. The London season was late that year, and they arrived in time to participate in the closing festivities, and to witness the prorogation of Parliament by the Queen in the House of Lords. They received many attentions from both old and new friends. Mr. Everett invited Macaulay to meet them at breakfast in Grosvenor Place, and Mr. Bates gave them a whitebait dinner at Greenwich. They breakfasted with the poet Rogers in St. James's Place, and dined with Sir William Clay at Fulham Lodge. They were present at a concert at Apsley House, and at a ball at Stafford House. Leaving London towards the end of August, they travelled leisurely through the country, going as far north as Edinburgh and the Trosachs. They then crossed to Ireland and visited the Giant's Causeway.

Returning to Holyhead, they spent several days in Wales; they reached Liverpool in time to embark in the *Hibernia* on the 4th of October, and landed in Boston on the 18th of the same month.

CHAPTER IX.

WHIG POLITICS. — THE NOMINATIONS OF MR. CLAY AND GENERAL TAYLOR. — THE VICE-PRESIDENCY. — THE MISSION TO ENGLAND.

For several years after the Ashburton negotiation Mr. Lawrence held no office or public appointment. He devoted himself to the great manufacturing interests which depended so largely upon him, finding time, however, as we have seen, to advocate and promote various measures of public improvement and reform, and taking a leading part in the politics of the day. He had been an active member of the Whig party from its very beginning, and had been very prominent in the campaign which resulted in the election of General Harrison in 1840. In the autumn of 1842 he presided at the State Convention held in Boston, which presented Henry Clay and John Davis as candidates to be nominated for the presidency and vice-presidency in 1844. He said on that occasion : —

"I stand here on the same ground on which I stood in 1840. I stand on the same platform of principles, which has never changed. We have met here to take *a new departure*, to take an observation carefully and deliberately, and to resolve when that observation is taken and that departure calculated, to follow out our course with resolution and with ardor. I said that we stand on the same platform. It is that of principles which we have maintained for the last twenty years ; and for the last two years no one can have changed in his opinion of, or adherence to, those principles. To-day we have met not merely to nominate our candidates for certain offices, but to call to mind and to discuss those principles ; to enter into the history of the past, and, I hope, to get some foretaste of the future."

This Convention included, in the roll of its membership, Joseph Grinnell, Stephen C. Phillips, John G. Palfrey, Samuel H. Walley, Thomas Kinnicutt, Emory Washburn, and Alexander H. Bullock, and undoubtedly represented fairly the Whig sentiment of Massachusetts at the time. Its proceedings, however, were sharply criticised by some, because it had made declaration of "a full and final separation" between the Whigs of the country and President Tyler, and also because it had brought forward the name of Mr. Clay as a candidate for the presidency, and not that of Mr. Webster. Mr. Webster himself regarded this action as a formal and pronounced condemnation of his course, particularly in remaining in the Cabinet after the resignation of his Whig colleagues, and, a few days later, he made one of his most memorable speeches as an answer to it. Mr. Sumner, who was present, and who, we need not say, was well qualified to describe such an occasion, has left a brief account of it. Writing under date of October 1, 1842, to his friend Lord Morpeth, from whom he had just parted on the deck of the *Great Western* in New York harbor, he said: —

"In the evening I took up my solitary journey to Boston, where I arrived in season for Webster's speech. The hall was crowded to suffocation. Webster looked like Coriolanus: he seemed to scorn, while he addressed, the people. His speech was unamiable, but powerful and effective. I send it herewith, that you may judge for yourself. It will cause a good deal of confusion among the Whigs, and will irritate Mr. Clay and his friends. When he came to speak of Clay's favorite measure, — the Compromise Act, — he drew from the bitterest fountains. He forbore to speak of the *motives* of its framer; for the motives of all public men are to be supposed to be pure. He lashed with an iron flail the action of the recent Whig Convention in Massachusetts, over which Abbott Lawrence presided, which nominated Clay for President. The speech was not received with any warmth. The applause seemed to be led off by some *claqueurs*, or fuglemen, and in rapture and spontaneousness was

very unlike the echoes which he has excited in the same hall at other times. We are all uncertain still whether he means to resign. Some of his friends construe passages of the speech in favor of resignation, and others contrariwise. I should rather infer that he meant to stay."

It is difficult now to see that Mr. Webster had any reason to complain of the Convention, except that it did not present him as a nominee for the presidency.[1] It had passed a strongly worded resolution, acknowledging the value of his services in connection with the Treaty of Washington; and this, by implication, would seem to have been an approval of his continuance at the head of the State Department. Further, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Grinnell, Mr. Kinnicutt, and others who had participated prominently in the proceedings, had joined in a cordial letter inviting him to a public dinner, which he had declined, preferring to meet his fellow-citizens in Faneuil Hall, and to address them there, as we have seen that he did. Nor were the Whigs of Massachusetts under a positive obligation to present his name, under any and all circumstances, for the presidential nomination. Men like Mr. Adams, Dr. Channing, and Mr. Sumner were becoming alienated from him, because of what they regarded as his subserviency to the South; and others may have lost their admiration for him for other reasons. It should be said, also, that outside of New England his popularity had been seriously weakened by his remaining in the Cabinet of President Tyler. But independently of all such considerations, it is easy to understand why the Whigs of Massachusetts should have designated Mr. Clay as their standard-bearer in 1842, and why he was made the nominee of the party in 1844. He had been its

[1] At a dinner at the Tremont House in 1848, just after the election of General Taylor, Mr. Lawrence having spoken in terms of high praise of the President-elect, and vouched for his soundness as a Whig, Mr. Webster made a speech which, in tone and temper, if we may judge from the description of it left by some who were present, was very much like the Faneuil Hall speech of 1842.

candidate for the presidency in the days of its infancy, in 1832; and he was its foremost champion to the day of his death, twenty years later. For this statement we have the authority of Mr. Winthrop, who has recently written as follows: —

"Mr. Clay was indeed emphatically the leader of what is now spoken of historically as the old Whig party of the United States. Even Webster, with all the surpassing power which he brought to its support, could hardly at any time have contested the leadership with him, even had he been disposed to do so. Webster was indeed its local, New England head and pride. But take the country through, — North, South, East, and West, — Clay was acknowledged and recognized as its chief." [1]

In 1844 Mr. Lawrence was a member of the National Whig Convention, and one of the electors at large for the State of Massachusetts. The following letter to the Whigs of Essex County gives his views upon the issues involved in the campaign of that year: —

Newport, R. I., Aug. 20, 1844.

My dear Sir, — I beg to acknowledge your favor (received at this place), and thank you for the invitation with which I am honored, to be present at and to take part in a mass convention to be held at Lynn on the 11th of September. I wish from my heart that the state of my health would permit me to accept it, and, in accordance with your wishes, to offer such views as I entertain upon the subject of the protection of American labor. I am, however, forbidden the satisfaction of being with you; in fact, I am physically disabled from addressing public assemblages at this time. You will therefore, I trust, on the present occasion "take the will for the deed." There are many men in our own and other States who have brought more ability to bear upon the great question of the protection of our own labor than myself; but I cannot yield to any one in sincere devotion of my best energies to the maintenance of the tariff policy, or the fidelity with which I have pursued it for nearly

[1] *Mem. Biog. N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 376.

twenty years, and amidst trials which at some periods seemed almost too great to be surmounted.

I rejoice now, and congratulate the country, on the establishment of a system that I hope may have so far recommended itself to the people as to insure at all times a full reward for the wages of labor. On this system of the protection of labor rests, in my humble judgment, the prosperity and happiness of this mighty empire. In all our experience with high duties and low duties, and the advantages derived from the tariff of 1842, we still have existing among us a party who profess to be in favor of the protection of labor, and yet are ready to cast their votes for a man proposed to occupy the highest office in the gift of the people, who avows his hostility to the protection of our labor, besides being in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas. These facts I know from personal acquaintance with Mr. Polk, and every man may possess the same knowledge by reading his printed speeches in Congress, and those delivered in Tennessee when he lost his election for governor.

How any man in Lynn, or *old Essex*, or in New England, can cast his vote for Mr. Polk, with his ultra views of national policy, is more than I can comprehend. Upon the subjects of Texas and the Tariff, Mr. Polk entertains the views of the State of South Carolina; and if you desire to know his views more in detail, you can find them in the doctrines put forth by the leading men of that State. Mr. Polk has come out boldly in favor of the extension of slavery. He has told us that he is in favor of a horizontal tariff of twenty per cent, the effect of which would be (if adopted), in opening our markets to all the world, to place our free and independent laborers on an equality with the pauper laborers of Europe. I say then to the citizens of the Free States, Are you ready to elect Mr. Polk and try his experiments? I have confidence that there is too much sound sense in all the States to adopt the abstractions of South Carolina. The election about to take place, it appears to me, is the most important since the adoption of the Constitution, and, I confess, I feel a deep interest in the result.

We have a candidate for the Presidency with whom I have enjoyed a very long and intimate acquaintance, and I say, with perfect confidence, that I know not the man in this world who is so likely to restore to the Government and the country its lost honor, and to bring us back to those good old times when the

Government was administered under the early Presidents for the benefit of the whole people and not for "the spoils of party."

I wish to see once more dignity and honor seated in the presidential chair. In the person of Henry Clay we have them united. Let us then go for Clay and Frelinghuysen — the American System — and the Union as it is.

I have written more than I intended. I pray you to pardon me, and accept for the Committee and yourself the assurances with which I remain Your friend and brother Whig,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

To DANIEL S. BAKER, Esq., and others, Committee, Lynn.

Mr. Lawrence's strong preference for Mr. Clay in 1842 and 1844, and for General Taylor, in anticipation of the Convention of 1848, cost him the nomination for the vice-presidency in the latter year, and, as it proved, the office of the presidency itself in 1850. It was generally conceded beforehand that he was to receive the nomination on the same ticket with General Taylor; and, but for the defection of some of the Massachusetts delegates, — Henry Wilson and others, who at that time were supporters of Mr. Webster, — he undoubtedly would have had it. It was true of him, as of so many public men in our country, that his worst foes were those of his own political household. As it was, he lacked but eight votes in the Convention. Some of Mr. Webster's followers threw out an intimation afterward that a bargain had been made in Washington, before the Convention met, by which General Taylor was to be President, and "a man in Boston" Vice-President. At a meeting held at Worcester on the 15th of July, ex-Governor Lincoln presided, and made an earnest and eloquent speech, in the course of which he referred to this charge, and thus indignantly repelled it:

"How is it proved that this 'bargain' was made, that General Taylor was to be President, and the 'man in Boston' Vice-President? Who heard the bargain? Who testifies to the corruption? It is assertion, and assertion merely.

"And who was 'the man in Boston' referred to by the delegate? One of her most honored citizens, who stands so transcendently above the possibility of anything base that no one dare assert that he could be a party even to an impropriety, — a man who by his munificence, his liberality of sentiment, by his patriotism and public virtue, has risen from the level of the people to a place where kings and emperors might be proud to stand: — he, gentlemen, honored as he is, is spoken of with unceremonious distinction as *a man in Boston*."

Mr. Fillmore received the nomination which should have fallen to Mr. Lawrence, and on the lamented death of General Taylor, in 1850, he succeeded to the presidency. Far better would it have been for the Southern people if a man like Mr. Lawrence had then come into power, — one who thoroughly understood the temper of the North, and who, while supporting the South in all its rights under the Constitution, would not have encouraged it by fatal compromises to its ultimate ruin.[1]

Mr. Lawrence manifested neither disappointment nor resentment when he was thus set aside at Philadelphia. "Instead of looking for pretexts, as many, not to say most, men would have done, for withdrawing from the canvass, or at least for looking coldly upon it, he was among the first to join in a call for a meeting of the Whigs in Faneuil Hall, and to address them in the warmest manner in support of the regular ticket. In the same magnanimous

[1] Writing from London to his friend General Dearborn of Roxbury, under date of April 2, 1850, Mr. Lawrence said: "I hope soon to hear of the settlement of the slavery question. I entertain no fears for the safety of the Union, whatever may be the votes in Congress. The Union cannot be touched, — two millions of swords would leap from their scabbards if it should be seriously assailed by enemies from without or within. I have occasion to talk upon this subject to a class of men who would not be made unhappy to see our experiment of freedom fail. I tell them that our Government has strengthened with age, and at no period of its history since the adoption of the Constitution has the Union been so strong as at the present moment. There is a great amount of strong common-sense in the minds of the American people, and a little time only is required to develop it, and to rebuke the fanatical spirit in the North as well as in the South. The idea of disunion, to my mind, is preposterous in the extreme. The eyes of all Europe are fixed upon our great and prosperous country. I hope and pray that we may be true to ourselves, and to those who preceded and transmitted to us our mighty heritage."

and patriotic spirit he visited the principal towns in the State, delivering addresses and using all his efforts to secure the triumph of the good cause."

Mr. George Ticknor thus speaks of the failure to obtain the nomination : —

"Mr. Lawrence came very near being nominated by the Whig party's Convention as their candidate for Vice-President of the United States, instead of Mr. Fillmore, on the same ticket with General Taylor. In that case he would, on the death of General Taylor, have become President of the United States, as did Mr. Fillmore. Mr. Lawrence lacked very few votes of this high success; and I shall never forget the quiet good humor with which, a few minutes after he knew that he had failed of the nomination as Vice-President, he came into my house, being my next door neighbor, and told me of it.[1]

The campaign of 1848 was not an easy one for the Whig leaders, especially in Massachusetts, where their party was divided not only on the issue of Mr. Webster's nomination, but on the question of slavery extension. Many of the old Whigs had given in their adhesion to the nominees of the Buffalo Convention (Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams), and others who were not then ready to commit themselves to the Free Soil movement were lukewarm in their support of General Taylor. Mr. Lawrence, writing to Mr. Nathan Appleton on the 11th of August, said: "General Taylor is gaining every day. Tell —— I hope he is ready to lend us a helping hand. I am willing to spend and be spent in the cause, but it would cheer me very much to have the countenance of the officials of this State in promoting the great cause of conservatism. . . . I am anxious to carry this State. I hope —— will give us his positive influence. There are men who have such fear of doing wrong that they will not do right. There can be no half-way measures at the present time." Again, on the 30th of August: "We

[1] Ticknor's *Life of Prescott*, p. 407, note.

had a spirited meeting last night at the Tremont Temple. I spoke an hour, without preparation, which I hope did some good. I endeavored to place our political condition before the people in its true light. We have a great work to perform, and it can be done with the support of those whose duty it is to encourage and take part in the cause which is of so much importance to the prosperity and happiness of us all." It was the Free Soil movement, however, which was to give the victory to the Whigs in 1848, as it had been the Liberty party which contributed to their defeat four years before.

When President Taylor formed his Cabinet he offered Mr. Lawrence first the secretaryship of the Navy, and then that of the Interior, but both were declined. Mr. Lawrence would probably have accepted the Treasury, for which he had a special fitness, but this had been promised to Mr. Meredith of Pennsylvania. The President soon after nominated him to the highest position abroad in the gift of the Government, the mission to England. For various reasons, Mr. Lawrence was in doubt as to whether he ought to accept this appointment, and but for the urgency of the President, and the persuasion of his intimate friends, he might have declined it altogether. In consultation with Mr. Everett, he quoted Sir Henry Wotton's "merry definition," that "an ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the Commonwealth," and said that if he thought there were the slightest basis in fact for the epigrammatic jest, he would not take the position. After full consideration, however, he did take it, and on the 26th of September, 1849, embarked for England in the steamship *Europa*, Captain Lott, with his wife and youngest daughter.

This appointment was no less honorable to Mr. Lawrence than creditable to the sagacity of the President and his Secretary of State, Mr. Clayton. It was not altogether new in the history of diplomacy to send a distinguished

merchant as envoy to a power of the first rank; but the instances had not then been so frequent, nor have they since become so, as to allow them to pass without comment. What Mr. Everett wrote in reference to Lord Ashburton's mission in 1842, may with equal appropriateness be remarked in connection with Mr. Lawrence's appointment in 1849: —

"Lord Ashburton was above the reach of the motives which influence politicians of an ordinary stamp, and unencumbered by the habits of routine which belong to men regularly trained in a career. He possessed a weight of character at home which made him independent of the vulgar resorts of popularity."

If the qualifications necessary for success in the diplomatic service have not been generally overestimated in the United States, they have at least been greatly misunderstood. What a man is, is quite as important a question as what he knows, in determining his fitness for a foreign mission. Wheaton, in his "Elements of International Law," says: —

"The art of negotiation seems, from its very nature, hardly capable of being reduced to a systematic science. It depends essentially on personal character and qualities, united with a knowledge of the world and experience in business. These talents may be strengthened by the study of history, and especially the history of diplomatic negotiations; but the want of them can hardly be supplied by any knowledge derived merely from books." [1]

[1] A friend has called our attention to a curious passage in the Memoirs of Prince Eugene of Savoy, whose equestrian statue stands in front of the Imperial Palace in Vienna; and it seems worth while to quote it, in connection with Mr. Wheaton's remark: "I walked about with some foreign minister, or I sat down in a corner with one of our own; and a communicative air made them speak. In revenge, I often beheld the stateliness of others repulse every one, and, hiding their mediocrity under a cloak of gravity and discretion, those gentlemen knew no one, neither public opinion nor private; and, less secret than discreet, they were ignorant of all that passed. It is thus that sovereigns are often deceived, not being *diffused* through society."

CHAPTER X.

RESIDENCE IN ENGLAND.—THE MOSQUITO PROTECTORATE.—THE EXHIBITION OF 1851.—RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. Lawrence's residence at the Court of St. James was the most brilliant part of his public career. He met in an admirable way the various requirements of his high and responsible position, and his mission was as successful in all respects as that of any of the statesmen or scholars who had preceded him. His personal and social qualities, which had contributed so greatly to his usefulness in every sphere of influence in which he had been placed hitherto, now shone forth more conspicuously than ever. He dispensed a splendid hospitality at Cadogan House, Piccadilly, where he delighted to bring together the prominent men of his own country, as they came to London, and the leading men in politics and the professions of Great Britain. He was able to appreciate and admire all that was valuable or venerable in other lands and in other forms of government, without weakening in the slightest degree his affection for his own country, or his preference for the political institutions under which he had been born and nurtured. He was thoroughly American in spirit and in sympathies, yet he was one of the most popular of men in English society. Nor was his popularity confined to society, so called. The Rev. Dr. James Hamilton wrote of him in a letter to his brother, Mr. Amos Lawrence, "No foreign minister is such a favorite with the British public." He was always at his ease, and always spoke with happy effect, whether on the platform of a philanthropic society, or before a

chamber of commerce, or at a public dinner. At the same time his marked ability as a diplomatist was recognized and acknowledged by the men in public life with whom he came into close contact. Lord Palmerston said that the United States had never been more ably represented in England than by him; and the Duke of Wellington, who was his near neighbor in Piccadilly, and became his personal friend, expressed the opinion that so long as they continued to be represented by men such as he, there need be no fear of a rupture between the two countries.

The first important question with which Mr. Lawrence had to deal on his arrival in London related to Central America, and to the ship-canal across the Isthmus, then projected. In obedience to instructions from Washington, he brought the subject to the notice of Lord Palmerston in November, 1849, and obtained from him an assurance that Great Britain did not design to occupy or colonize any part of Central America, and that she was ready to enter into a guarantee with the United States for the neutrality of the canal. But Mr. Lawrence, says Mr. Prescott, whose account of this negotiation we follow, was quick to perceive that these assurances would fail to answer the purpose, unless Great Britain would consent to abandon her shadowy protectorate over the "Mosquito Kingdom." He accordingly made this the subject of earnest conversation in more than one interview with the English Minister; and he also argued in favor of the abandonment of the protectorate, on the strongest grounds of policy, in a long and able communication to Lord Palmerston, under date of December 14, 1849. To this letter he received no reply; and early in the following year, it being thought that the negotiation could be carried on with greater facility in Washington than in London, it was removed, for final adjustment, from the latter to the former capital.

Meanwhile, Mr. Lawrence had been diligently engaged in preparing for his own Government a communication, afterwards printed by order of the Senate, the object of which was to trace to its origin the British claim to the exercise of a protectorate over the Mosquito Territory. In doing this he travelled over a vast field of historical research, from the first occupation of the territory by the Spaniards to its subsequent invasion by the English, and established, to the conviction of every unprejudiced mind, the position that Great Britain never possessed any legal right to the qualified dominion which she claimed as protector of the Indians; and that, if she had possessed it, this would signify nothing, since, by an express treaty with Spain, she had formally renounced such right. By a singular coincidence this state paper, which we consider of sufficient importance to give in full in the Appendix, was dated in London on the 19th of April, 1850, the very day on which the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was signed in Washington.

This latter instrument, confining itself to the simple object of a guarantee for a canal across the Isthmus, makes no provision for the Mosquito question, though by an incidental allusion it appears to recognize the existence of a protectorate. Indeed it seems to have done nothing more than carry out the details of the arrangement to which Lord Palmerston professed his readiness to accede, in his first communication to Mr. Lawrence. But, as the latter foresaw, so important an element in the discussion as the Mosquito protectorate then was could not be winked out of sight; and, as it appeared later, the absence of this material link in the chain of the negotiations made the other provisions of the treaty of little worth.

A gentleman then resident in London, and having personal access to the best sources of information, writes: —

"I have always regarded the removal of these negotiations to the United States as unfortunate. The relations between the two

Governments were very delicate, when Mr. Lawrence took the question up. By his frankness, tact, and urbanity he had succeeded in allaying British apprehensions; and my opinion is that if he had had the whole conduct of the business, we should have got much better terms than we did. He could have brought influences to bear on the question which Mr. Clayton knew nothing of. Lord John Russell's Ministry was not strong, the public press (especially the 'Times') were against it on the Mosquito question, and I think we might have got an explicit abandonment of the protectorate if Mr. Lawrence had been left free to exercise all these influences upon the Cabinet."

The Clayton-Bulwer treaty has come prominently into notice once more, in connection with the project of M. de Lesseps for a canal across the American isthmus, the recent visit of that distinguished gentleman to this country, and the diplomatic correspondence which has since taken place. A movement has been set on foot at Washington to secure, if possible, its abrogation or modification; and Mr. Blaine, while Secretary of State, indited a despatch to the American Minister in London with this object in view, which has been severely criticised both in this country and in England. The contention, however, now, is not with reference to the Mosquito protectorate, which during late years has almost ceased to be talked about, and the old claim to which Great Britain, we think, will not be likely to press anew, so much as to the joint stipulation on the part of the two contracting powers that they will together supervise and protect any canal or railway which may be constructed from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean through or over any part of the continent between Tehuantepec and Panama. The treaty binds both parties "never to erect or maintain any fortifications commanding, or in the vicinity of, any ship-canal, or to occupy or fortify or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America." It is now urged at Washington by some parties that this arrangement is in

contravention of the Monroe doctrine, but it does not seem to have been so regarded by the statesmen of thirty years ago.

President Taylor died on the 9th of July, 1850; and as soon as the intelligence reached London, on the 22nd, the American Minister addressed a circular note, in beautiful and touching terms, to his countrymen then in England, and particularly to those of them in the consular service:

"General Zachary Taylor, President of the United States, died at Washington on the 9th instant, after a very brief illness. This intelligence is too fearfully certain to permit me to await its official announcement before inviting you to join in the national sorrow.

"Taught in infancy lessons of patriotism, accustomed in youth to the dangers of a frontier life, entering the service of his country in early manhood, distinguishing himself during a life of toil by successive victories gained under great disadvantages, — had General Taylor died in the army, he would have left behind him the name of a brave soldier, cautious in council, firm in opinion, rapid in execution, of unquestioned integrity, humanity, and patriotism. A higher fame was reserved for him. Raised to the head of one of the powerful nations of the earth, he exhibited to the world, under circumstances of rare trial, a sincerity, a prudence, and a moderation, combined with a firmness, a sense of justice, and a patriotic devotion to the honor and true interests of his country, which won for him an unlimited confidence at home, and a profound respect abroad. With a consciousness of the purity of his motives, he sank into death, breathing the words, '*I am prepared — I have endeavored to do my duty.*'

"I invite the Consuls and Vice-Consuls of the United States, and all others of my countrymen in the United Kingdom, to manifest their sympathy in this sad event, and share in the general grief it has caused. Our country has lost, in the hour of her need, a great and a good man. Let us hope that, while his memory endures, those who have the charge of our public affairs may emulate his patriotism, his integrity, his justice, and his self-forgetfulness; and that our countrymen generally may

strive to imitate the modest self-reliance, the purity, and the kindness of heart which distinguished him in private life."

Mr. Webster now became Secretary of State, and he and Mr. Lawrence carried on a private as well as an official correspondence with each other. We insert two of these private letters, which throw light upon the state of our foreign relations at that period. They discuss not only the Mosquito Question, but also the visit of Kossuth to the United States, and the aggressive spirit against Mexico then manifesting itself in the Southern States.

WASHINGTON, December 29, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR, — I ought to have written you long ago to thank you for your private letter, accompanied by the memorandum of a conversation between you and Lord Palmerston, but incessant occupation has not allowed me time. What you said to His Lordship corresponds exactly with my own sentiments and opinions, and also, I believe, with those of the President.

You will have seen the Message before you receive this, and that part of it which relates to our foreign relations will have shown you the ground on which I stand, with the entire *concurrence* and *support* of the President, and the other heads of department. You perceive how difficult it is to prevent these lawless invasions of other countries, but we shall do all we can. One of our great sources both of present difficulties and future dangers, Mexico, has a miserable government, is full of factions, and with finances utterly deranged. Her very weakness is threatening to us. I fear her whole frame of government may fall to pieces, inviting aggression and exciting cupidity in all quarters. If I were confident such a line of policy could be steadily carried out by the United States government, I should think it deserved great consideration, — whether it would not be wise in us to uphold Mexico and save her government from disunion, for the reason that it is better for us that Mexico should be able to maintain an independent government, than that she should break to pieces and fall into other hands, even though those hands were our own. This whole subject gives me great uneasiness.

I am very anxious to hear what Lord Palmerston says about the case of the *Prometheus*. Depend upon it, there will be no

security for the continuance of peace in that quarter, until the British withdraw from Greytown. The notion that British officers and agents hold that place only in behalf of the Mosquito King, and as his agents, strikes some people as being ridiculous, and others as being an offensive and provoking pretence. I am quite at a loss to know what importance there is in the retention of this miserable town by England, to justify all the hazards of collision which her continued possession of it will certainly entail upon her and us. When Sir Henry Bulwer went to England I looked for his speedy return, and I thought we should be able to bring matters to a final and amicable settlement. I hope you lose no proper opportunity of urging the necessity of such a settlement upon the attention of Lord Palmerston. At the present moment, no part of our relations with England is so critical and so ominous of evil as this petty business.

You cannot fail to see how very probable it is that a more warlike administration than that which now exists is likely to come into power fifteen months hence. There is not only existing among us a spirit favorable to further territorial acquisition, but a zeal also for intervention in the affairs of other states, of a fearful character and already of considerable extent.

This spirit has gained great strength and vivacity from Kossuth's visit and speeches. At one time the whole — or nearly the whole — city of New York seemed quite crazy. The fever however is abating. It has met cooling influences from sober minds, North and South. I suppose it will be revived here, to some degree, as Kossuth comes here to-day, and a large section of the Democratic party intend taking advantage of his presence to bring the country, if they can, to the doctrine and the practice of intervention. I am sure you see, and I wish others might see, the expediency and importance of settling everything connected with England without delay.

Yours always truly,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

The Hon. ABBOTT LAWRENCE, London.

LONDON, January 15, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have much pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your private letter of the 29th December.

That portion of the President's Message upon the subject of our foreign relations, to which you have alluded, corresponds with

the views I have always entertained. You may have noticed that the British journals copied that passage, accompanied with favorable comments.

I have looked with anxiety for a long time upon the love of conquest and spirit of acquisition manifested among us. Even marauding and piratical expeditions have been regarded with indifference by persons holding high positions in society. There is perhaps no other remedy for this growing evil than for honest men to speak out, on all proper occasions, upon the dangers of encouraging the people to transgress the laws. The integrity of the Union ought not to be perilled by demagogues and adventurers.

I am one of the hopeful citizens of the Republic; and yet I must confess that I have never seen a time like the present, when it seemed to me so important that our statesmen should be men of character and ability, deeply impressed with the responsibility that rests upon them. Kossuth's extraordinary oratorical powers appear to have turned the heads of our people. How grave senators can agree to the doctrine of intervention, with the likeness of Washington before their eyes, I cannot imagine. We have agitators enough of our own growth, without invoking the aid of foreigners to expound to us our political obligations. Yet I have much sympathy for Hungary and for Kossuth, but his visit to the United States can do neither himself nor us any good. There has been a want of discretion in his speeches which I regret; he will find on his return to England that some of his sentiments (such as appealing from our government to the people as the "higher power," when the Senate laid upon the table the resolution of invitation) will produce a most unfavorable reaction against him. It is evident that we have arrived at a point in our history when all our wisdom will be required to prevent the acquisition of Mexico (and perhaps of other territory), and the adoption of the new doctrine of intervention. Our danger lies in our extraordinary increase of numbers, great prosperity, and in the consequent self-exaggeration of the people. It is quite time that we looked these matters in the face, and arrest if possible the spread of doctrines which are subversive of every principle upon which good government is founded.

You have mentioned the unhappy condition of Mexico. It would seem to be almost in a state of dissolution. Our own in-

terests are clearly that it should maintain its independence. I do not know what we can do to enable it to regain a sound government. If its troubles came from without, something might be done to aid it in resisting a foreign enemy; but the enemy is from within, composed of its own people, fighting and intriguing against each other. The interference of the United States would probably bring on war, but the jealousy of our people would not allow or submit to the conquest or colonization of that country by a foreign power. This whole question is beset with difficulties. We may not be able to keep out of Mexico, but I should deem it a great misfortune to have any political connection with it, — and a dangerous blow aimed at our welfare, should it become an integral part of the Union.

As regards our affairs with Great Britain, nothing remains unsettled but the Central American Question; and I can assure you that there is quite as much anxiety in England to avoid all disputes with us, as there is in the United States to maintain the most amicable relations with England. I have lost no fitting opportunity to impress upon Her Majesty's Ministers the importance of making some other provision for the Indians than that now existing, and of giving up all British occupation on the Mosquito Coast. If San Juan is abandoned, as it will be, the British may remove to Bluefields, or to some other point. It is for the interest of both countries that this unwise and absurd protectorate should come to an end. It has been so severely commented upon, and so much ridiculed by the press and by individuals, that I am convinced the present cabinet will be glad to get rid of it. I have never held any other language here than that of a total abandonment of all connection with the Mosquito Indians. This I told Lord John Russell when I last saw him, and endeavored to satisfy Lord Granville that we could not be certain of maintaining peace without it. Mr. Chatfield, with whom so much fault has been found, was recalled a few days ago. I do not entertain a doubt that you will bring the matter to a conclusion without much delay when you meet the minister from this country, whoever he may be. I have requested Lord Granville to give him large powers.

I am always sincerely yours,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

The Hon. D. WEBSTER, Washington.

Another of Mr. Lawrence's important despatches related to the fisheries. In the summer of 1852 the reassertion of the "headland theory" by the Canadian Government, and the seizure of several American vessels charged with fishing within the three-mile limit, caused much bitter feeling in this country. The British Government sent out a fleet of ships to the scene of contention; and so peremptory and menacing were the orders under which it sailed, that Mr. Lawrence, without waiting for instructions, hastened to Lord Malmesbury, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and represented to him the danger to the peace of the two countries which must result from such an attitude. The time was indeed critical. Lord Elgin, then Governor-General of Canada, in an address to the merchants of Liverpool, said: —

"A British admiral and an American commodore were sailing on the coast, with instructions founded on opposite conclusions; and a single indiscreet act on the part of one or other of those naval officers would have brought on a conflict involving all the horrors of war."

The modification of the British instructions was communicated to Mr. Lawrence by Lord Malmesbury in a note dated "Foreign Office, August 13, 1852," as follows: —

My dear Sir, — The Orders that are to go out to our Admiral, and of which I have given Mr. Crampton notice, are: —

Not to interfere with the Magdalen Islands; to consider the Bay of Fundy on the same footing as we placed it in 1845;

To capture American fishing-vessels only under precisely the same circumstances as those which would have been acted upon of late years, and when manifestly infringing the treaty;

To exercise these instructions with the greatest forbearance and moderation.

Yours sincerely,

Malmesbury.

Mr. Lawrence's own words of comment on this note were: "This is as much as I could request, inasmuch as I acted without instructions, and I think all parties ought to be satisfied." By further negotiations, which the President afterwards approved and confirmed, he prepared the way for the definitive settlement of the long-standing dispute, by the Marcy-Elgin treaty of 1854, — the Reciprocity treaty so called, — which, unfortunately, was abrogated by the action of the American Congress in 1865.

Mr. Lawrence studied carefully and wrote very fully to his Government upon questions of a practical character, such as emigration, international postage, the currency, the condition of the agricultural and manufacturing population of the United Kingdom, and other topics which would be likely to arrest the attention and awaken the interest of a merchant of large experience, representing one of the two great commercial nations of the globe at the Court of the other. Several of these papers were printed by order of the Senate, but the Department of State does not seem to have responded to them in a way likely to encourage such investigations and reports. Mr. Lawrence obtained permission from Washington to urge upon the British Government a modification of the English light-dues system, under which American tonnage was and continues to be heavily taxed, while the coasts and harbors of the United States are lighted at the public expense, for the free use of the shipping of all nations. His letters on this subject give a clear and forcible presentation of the case from the American point of view. They were never satisfactorily answered, but they elicited from Lord Palmerston the admission that the policy of the American Government in this regard was a wise and liberal one, and that there was much plausibility in the argument that the expense of the coast-lights ought to be borne by the public instead of by the shipping interest. They were printed in England by vote of the House of

Commons, on the motion of Mr. Hume. In communicating this correspondence to the Department at Washington, Mr. Lawrence rather complained that no notice had been taken of, and no interest had been manifested in, this question, which but for him would not then have been raised, and which has been allowed to sleep again for a quarter of a century since that time. When it shall come up for further consideration and final adjustment between the two Governments, the correspondence of 1850–51, which has lately been published in blue-book form, will be found to throw much light on the subject.

During Mr. Lawrence's residence in England the subject of direct communication between the Irish coast and the United States was receiving much attention. The Irish emigration movement was then at its height,[1] and in order to facilitate it, as well as to expedite the mail service between the two hemispheres, various schemes were under consideration for a mail service between some one or more of the Irish ports and the American continent. In the autumn of 1851 Mr. Lawrence made a tour through Ireland with Mrs. and Miss Lawrence (Mrs. Lowell), in order to examine these and other questions relating to Irish prosperity upon the spot. In a letter to the Mayor of Limerick, written after his return to London, he said: —

"When in Ireland, I visited the harbors of Dublin, Galway, Limerick, Bantry, Cork, and Queenstown, all of which offer rare and safe accommodation for ships. Several other harbors, which I did not visit, have been favorably spoken of and reported on by persons competent to judge upon such questions. Since my return to London I have received various charts, maps, reports, etc. with reference to these harbors, all of which I have transmitted to the President of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of New York."

[1] In 1851, 236,214 Irish immigrants arrived in the United States, a larger number than in any year previously or since. During the period of Mr. Lawrence's residence in London the Irish emigration to the United States was nearly three quarters of a million.

A few years later the Galway line was subsidized by the British Government to come to Boston; but the project lacked all the elements of commercial success, and speedily failed. The problem has since been solved by the adoption of the harbor of Queenstown as a place of call for passengers and mails for all the Atlantic steamers sailing from and to Liverpool, and of Lough Foyle as a similar place of call for the ships sailing from and to Glasgow.

The first international exhibition took place in London, in 1851. Mr. Lawrence evinced the deepest interest in everything connected with it, and his despatches to the Department of State show how anxious he was that his country should be properly represented in it. Before it was opened he made a visit to Liverpool and Manchester, and at a meeting held in his honor in the latter city, in the Town Hall, he gave his views in reference to it in the following words: —

"Mr. Mayor, you are all business men, and so am I when I am at home; but here I have nothing to do but to speak, and I am very much afraid of taking up your time. I want to say a word upon another point, and that is the great industrial exhibition of 1851. I happen to be one of those who were consulted early in London upon that subject, and it struck me very forcibly, I believe at the very first, more as a moral question than anything else, and I embraced it with considerable zeal, and attended the first public meeting on the subject. I have been engaged in promoting the success of the exhibition from that time to this, and I beg leave to say that upon mature reflection, having seen a great many of my countrymen and a great many persons from the Continent, I do believe, speaking of peace and fraternal feeling among nations, and especially between the United States and Great Britain, this exhibition is to do more for the beneficent cause of harmony of feeling and good-will among the nations than anything that has occurred in modern times. Great fears have been expressed in some quarters in Great Britain, that it was to be an injury to England, — that you were to be beaten out of sight. This was an afterthought; for when it began to be talked about there were no

such fears, but latterly the newspapers have been crowded with articles on that point. Well, now, I look at it in this way: How are you to be beaten? By whom are you to be beaten? In design, in works of taste, I think you will be beaten, and I think you ought to be, because you are behind your neighbors. (Hear! hear!) Yes; but when you come to the great articles of necessity that the world must have, that you must send to every one of your colonies, that you must have here among yourselves, — take the manufactures of wool generally, the mixed articles of wool and cotton, and especially all cotton manufactures, in short, all the great articles with which the world must be supplied, — there is nobody who can come near you, no nation can come near you; I am quite sure of that. Now my idea is, with regard to my own country, we have made some progress, as I before remarked, in the arts and in the application of science to art. I am aware that we can learn of you more than we can teach you; at the same time I think that if my countrymen come over here with all their Yankee notions and the great variety of articles produced in the United States, you may get some hints that will be useful to you."

At the close of the Exhibition Mr. George Peabody gave a dinner (October 27, 1851) at the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill, to the American gentlemen who had been connected with it, and to other distinguished guests, American and English. Among the latter were Earl Granville, the Chairman of the Royal Commission, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer (afterward Lord Dalling and Bulwer), Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, Sir Joseph Paxton of Chatsworth, Mr. Thomson Hankey, Jr., Governor of the Bank of England, Sir Charles Fox (of Fox & Henderson), Mr. Thomas Baring, M.P., Mr. (Sir) Curtis M. Lampson, and Dr. (Sir) Lyon Playfair. Among the American guests were Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Joshua Bates, Colonel Aspinwall, American Consul in London, Mr. Bancroft Davis, Secretary of Legation, Colonel Bigelow Lawrence, Mr. Robert J. Walker, Mr. John Carter Brown, the Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, Mr. Jonathan Mason, Mr. Russell Sturgis and Mr. Benjamin S. Rotch.

Mr. Francis P. Corbin of Virginia, at the close of an excellent speech, proposed the health of the American Minister, which was warmly responded to by the company, and Mr. Lawrence made the following reply: —

"I feel, with deep sensibility, the flattering testimony just extended to me. I have not words to express my thanks, not only to my friend on my right, but to you, my countrymen, whom I see around me.

"The invitation I received was to attend 'a parting dinner to the American gentlemen who have been connected with the Exhibition.' I am happy to find that our hospitable host, characterized with his usual good taste, has not confined this invitation to those of us who are native-born Americans, but that he has brought to us those who, although not of our nation, are of our kindred. We are all of the same origin, and speak the same language; we have the same literature, the same religion, and the same of *everything* that makes the man.

"Besides, there was a peculiar propriety in bringing to us the Alpha and the Omega of the Great Exhibition. We have here with us to-night the man who had the genius to plan a building such as the world never saw before, and such, perhaps, as we may never see again. We have also here to-night the man who had the courage to undertake and the skill and enterprise to execute that plan.

"Our munificent host has also brought to us that illustrious nobleman, whose high position indeed claims our respect, but whose many virtues command our admiration and our love; — a nobleman whose executive talent and power of combination enabled him, with his colleagues, to unfold before us, in perfect order, the products of the labor of all the world. I allude, gentlemen, to the Right Honorable the Earl Granville.

"And here, my countrymen, I must make my acknowledgments, and present my thanks, as your Minister, to the Royal Commissioners, for the ability, urbanity, skill, and judgment with which they executed their trust. I know something of the history of this Exhibition. I remember the day it was opened; I was present when it was closed. I watched it from its inception to its completion, from its completion to its dissolution; and I must be permitted to say that the order,

the exactness, and the perfection with which every department was managed have never been excelled, and perhaps rarely equalled, whether in the marshalling of armies or fleets, the construction of buildings, or the arrangement of men. More than six millions of human beings entered and came out of the Crystal Palace without the occurrence of any serious accident; and I am sure you will agree with me, when I say that, from the Prince himself down to the policeman, no one received aught but civility and kindness.

"I cannot omit to congratulate you, Mr. Peabody, and our countrymen present, upon the gratification we experience in having here to-night our excellent friend, Her Majesty's Envoy to the United States, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, whose mission has tended so much to produce harmony and concord between the two nations. Long may he continue to represent this great country in the United States; long may he continue to promote those feelings of amity and good-will which he has been so successful in encouraging!

"And now, I hope I may be pardoned if I allude to the peculiar circumstances under which we entered the Exhibition. Invitations were sent to the world at large. The nations of Europe made provision for defraying the expenses of their contributors. They sent here, also, men who, in their respective countries, were eminent in science and skill, that they might observe and learn whatever might be beneficial to their countrymen; and the expenses of these men were defrayed by their respective governments.

"But, gentlemen, every man from America came here on his individual account and risk; he paid his own expenses, and often paid for the transportation of his contributions; and then freely gave his time in attending to the exhibition of his products. It is due to you that the world should know under what circumstances you were here.

"And yet, gentlemen, while I think we have come out of the Exhibition vastly better than we went into it, I cannot but have, after all, a feeling of regret at what we have done, — or, rather, at what we have left undone. I cannot but feel a regret, when I think that having accomplished so much with the small means employed, what could we not have done, if the people of the United States, in the majesty of their strength, had put forth all

their power! I have said that we came out of the Exhibition better than was at first anticipated. At the same time, I ought to state, for the information of those who never were in the United States, that our contributions to the Exhibition gave but an imperfect idea of the progress that has been made in the arts, and in the application of the sciences to the useful arts, in the United States. I have often attended the State exhibitions at Philadelphia, New York, and Boston; and I hesitate not to say that I have seen at those places contributions far superior to those we have had here from the United States. But, after all, I am convinced that the Exhibition will be productive of great good to our country. The social intercourse which you have had with the world generally, and with the people of the United Kingdom particularly; the opportunities you have enjoyed of a widely extended observation of the actual condition of the sciences and mechanical arts of the whole world, — these advantages are worth tenfold the trouble and expense and time which you have so freely bestowed upon this Great Exhibition.

"If some are, perchance, disappointed in the distribution of medals, and are disposed, for the moment, to forget how arduous were the labors of the Jury, to such, if any there be, I would say: Gentlemen, you and many others can well afford to be without the Council-medals, since you are left in possession of your invaluable inventions. Of what consequence is it to Mr. Hobbs that he should have a Council-medal for a lock, which after a thorough trial was returned to him unpicked, while it is well known that every other lock that has been offered to him has yielded to his instruments? Is it of material consequence to Colonel Colt that he should have a Council-medal for a fire-arm whose name and fame have already reached the uttermost parts of the earth, and which is acknowledged, I believe, to be the best *peacemaker* yet presented to mankind? Would Mr. St. John's regulator of the compass come more surely into notice or general use, if a Council-medal had been awarded to it? or would Mr. Thompson's soap, which washes as well in salt as in fresh water — which will wash out tar and all other stains except moral stains — would this soap be more valuable if it had received a first medal? Nor do I deem it of material consequence to Mr. Erickson, and to others whom I might mention,

if time permitted, whether he or they obtained the Council's medal for their contribution to science. The world will adopt everything that is of real value.

"I am sure, gentlemen, that you will take leave of this country, — you who are to depart to-morrow, as well as those who are soon to follow, — impressed with the high value of the Exhibition to our country, and in the full belief that you have received every consideration that could have been expected, under the circumstances in which we have been placed. I must say, that I think we should all feel under the deepest obligation to His Royal Highness Prince Albert, and to all who promoted the objects of the Exhibition, as well as to the great body of the British people, for their uniform courtesy and kindness during our sojourn in their land.

"Another great advantage arising from the Exhibition to which I must allude is, that it has exhibited to the world the encouraging prospect that the time has come when labor, dignified labor, must be respected; that the time has come when there must be a just appreciation of those who are the creators of wealth; and that it is to the efforts of the laborer that every country must be mainly indebted for its glory and its power.

"But, gentlemen, there are two kinds of labor, intelligent and unintelligent labor; the former is that which gives character to a nation, and, in giving character, gives wealth and power also. Hence, I say, encourage the education of all the people, for, by so doing, you will promote the elevation of the character, and give that dignity to the founders of wealth which is so justly their due.

"And now, gentlemen, I come to the very agreeable duty assigned to me; and that is, to propose the health of a nobleman who has devoted his time, for many months, to the promotion of the objects of the Great Exhibition. I know of no one who has done more, and few who have done so much. I believe, in a word, that Lord Granville has done his whole duty. He has occupied a most difficult position: but his patience, his perseverance, and his uniform courtesy have enabled him to reconcile differing interests; and, in pursuing his straightforward, manly course, my right honorable friend has generally been able to have his own way; and that way, I am happy to say, is always the right way. I give you, gentlemen, with all

my heart, 'The Royal Commissioners,' connecting with the toast the name of the Right Honorable the Earl Granville."

Lord Granville was received with loud cheers, and made a graceful speech, in the course of which he said: —

"It is exceedingly gratifying to see sitting by the side of each other the Minister of the United States to this country and the Minister for this country to the United States. In the case of both these gentlemen, I believe they have made it their business to become acquainted not only with the respective countries to which they are accredited, but also with all classes of the inhabitants of the country; and in making that acquaintance, I believe that they have gained for themselves the esteem and respect of all whom they have met.

Sir Henry Bulwer's health was proposed by Mr. Robert J. Walker. Sir Henry, always felicitous in his after-dinner speeches, was never more happy than on this occasion, and at one point he aroused the enthusiasm of the company to the utmost by a skilful introduction of dramatic effect: —

"But well I know, gentlemen, it is not merely the solemn cathedral or the stately tower, nor even the venerated tomb of the noble and the great, which, as you wander through this island, will stay your steps. I see you there, in the quiet village, the country churchyard, pondering over some half-effaced epitaph, tracing on some moss-covered monument the names and lineage of your English forefathers, whose dust, commingling with Old England's soil, gives me, my dear sir [turning to Mr. Lawrence and taking his hand], the right, whilst I clasp your hand as that of a friend, to claim it as that of a brother."

He thus referred to the recent yacht race off Cowes: —

"Whilst we are thus passing in review the evidences of your genius which are to be found in Hyde Park, what is that small bark which I see lightly skimming along the sea? I think I recognize an old acquaintance; and sure enough, on the very day that I land at Liverpool, I learn that that little vessel, which

I had seen but lately sleeping quietly in the waters of New York, has, after gallantly crossing the great Atlantic, given the go-by to the whole of our yacht squadron; and this, too, before the very eyes of the sovereign, whom we are sometimes proud enough to call the Queen of the Ocean. However, gentlemen, you know I always speak my mind; and therefore I tell you, that here, if you gave us one lesson we also gave you another. I remember a story of Mr. Fox, who, when asked, it is said, one day, what he thought of a young man who had just made a capital first speech, replied, 'I don't like to judge any one after a success, I like to see what a man is after a failure.' Now, I say, gentlemen, that, on the occasion to which I am alluding, we should decidedly have satisfied Mr. Fox; and I beg you to remember that if you then showed us how to win a race, we showed you how to bear the loss of one."

Mr. Bancroft Davis, Mr. Lawrence's Secretary of Legation, who spoke later in the evening, took occasion to say: —

"If I were free to do so, I should bear testimony to the great labors of Mr. Lawrence in behalf of the Exhibition, with which no man is better acquainted than myself. Happily, I am not restrained from speaking of the constant interest which my friend Colonel Bigelow Lawrence has felt in the success of our exhibitors, and the steadiness with which he has worked to that end since he first landed in England. He will be gratefully remembered by all Americans who have visited London this year."

Mr. Peabody, and his countrymen who sat at his table, had good reason for congratulating themselves upon the honors with which American inventors and exhibitors were distinguished when the final awards were announced. Patriotic Americans resident or visiting in London had felt very solicitous as to the result, so far as their own country was concerned, even after the opening of the Exhibition; and they were in like measure full of a pardonable pride and joy when they witnessed a degree of success beyond anything they had dared hope for. To

this success Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Peabody had contributed largely, by the manifestation of an unwavering interest and by generous contributions of time and money.

Mr. Joshua Bates also should be mentioned in this connection, as one who was always prompt to participate in any effort designed to promote the honor and the interest of his native land. He and Mr. Lawrence had long been on the most intimate terms, and they were much together at this time. Mr. Bates used often to call at Cadogan House in the morning as he was driving to the City; and Mr. Lawrence was a frequent visitor at Sheen, where during a severe illness he was most kindly cared for by Mr. and Mrs. Bates.

A year later, Mr. Lawrence sought and obtained permission from the President to lay down his mission and return home. Under date of May 14, 1852, he addressed the following letter to President Fillmore: —

"When I had the honor of accepting the appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to this Court, it was understood by your lamented predecessor that I should have the privilege of returning to the United States whenever it suited my convenience. I have now to ask that favor, and desire to resign my mission on the first day of October next, early in which month I propose to come home. In case you should conclude not to fill my place by the appointment of a Minister, I should leave Mr. Davis as Chargé d'Affaires, who is in all respects qualified to perform the duties that devolve upon this Legation; and it affords me satisfaction to bear my testimony to the ability and fidelity with which he has discharged his official duties, and of his fitness to manage the affairs of this Mission."

The President replied, acceding to his request, but urging him to remain for another year if he could do so consistently with his own sense of duty. Mr. Lawrence wrote of this reply, that it was very kind in its expressions, and that it would show to his grandchildren that after three years of service abroad he had received from his

Government an honorable discharge. This letter was probably lost in the great fire. He had separated himself from his vast business interests as long as he felt it to be right to do so, while a longer residence at the Court of St. James offered no special opportunities for further usefulness, as it could have added nothing more to his reputation, personal or official. The period covered by his mission had been a very interesting one in Europe. The Republic in France had been overthrown, and the Second Empire had been built up on its ruins. Throughout the Continent a strong reactionary spirit had asserted itself as against the political principles which had been partially successful in 1848. In England, one or two ministerial crises and a general election had taken place, Sir Robert Peel had died in 1850, and the Duke of Wellington in September, 1852. The death of another leading statesman, Lord George Bentinck, had occurred earlier, in 1848; Mr. Disraeli had then succeeded to the Conservative leadership in the House of Commons, and in the winter of 1851–52 had taken high office under Lord Derby as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Lawrence's last despatch to the State Department was dated September 30, 1852, and in it he thus spoke of the purpose by which he had been actuated in all that he had endeavored to do: —

"I was especially charged by the President, on leaving the United States, to cultivate the most friendly relations with the Government of the United Kingdom. This has been my constant aim. To this end I have mingled freely with people of all ranks, and I can say with truth, in closing my connection with the Legation, that the relations between the United States and Great Britain have never in my judgment been so cordial, or on so firm a basis of good understanding, as at the present moment. I have found every administration of this Government animated with a desire to preserve this happy state of things, and every class vying with every other, in manifestations of respect and good will."

Embarking with his family at Liverpool in the steamship *Niagara*, Captain Stone, for Boston, he reached home on the 28th of October, 1852, just after the death of Mr. Webster, and, immediately on landing, hastened to Marshfield, to assist in paying the last tribute of respect to the departed statesman. His fellow-citizens were anxious to testify their appreciation of his distinguished service abroad by giving him a public dinner, but this honor he positively declined in view of Mr. Webster's recent death. During the summer Mr. Webster had had under consideration a request from President Fillmore to succeed Mr. Lawrence in London, but for various reasons he had decided not to avail himself of it.

The correspondence in reference to the public dinner was as follows: —

Boston, October 19, 1852.

Dear Sir, — We have the honor to address you in behalf of a number of our fellow-citizens, who have appointed us a committee for the purpose of welcoming you on your return among us, and to invite you to meet them at a public dinner, or in such other mode as you may prefer.

They are desirous of testifying their sense of the manner in which you have performed the duties of the important station to which you were appointed by the Government of the United States, as the representative of the nation at the Court of Saint James, and which, as we believe, has met the unqualified approval of your fellow-countrymen.

They have witnessed the dignity, courtesy, and good feeling which have characterized your intercourse with the government and people of the nation to which you were accredited, and which has tended to strengthen the bonds of peace and amity so happily existing between the two countries.

They are well aware of your unremitting attention and hospitality to your countrymen who have visited Europe in such numbers, under the existing facilities of intercourse, and of the able manner in which you have, on all proper occasions, done justice to the character of our institutions and people.

The mercantile portion of our community have seen with

great satisfaction your attention to our increasing commerce. They feel that you have, by the able manner in which you have fulfilled your mission, done honor to the profession of a merchant, and to our good city of Boston.

We therefore, in pursuance of our instructions, invite you, in behalf of our fellow-citizens, to meet them at a public dinner, at such time as may suit your convenience, or in any other mode which may be more agreeable to you.

We have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem, your friends and very obedient servants,

Nathan Appleton.	Geo. Baty Blake.
Robert G. Shaw.	Wm. Appleton.
F. Skinner.	Francis C. Lowell.
L. W. Tappan.	James W. Paige.
Wm. Sturgis.	Samuel Hooper.

To the Hon. Abbott Lawrence.

Boston, November 6, 1852.

My dear Sirs. — Upon my arrival in Boston last week I had the honor to receive your communication of the 19th ultimo, inviting me to meet my fellow-citizens at a public dinner, or in such other mode as I might prefer.

I am deeply grateful for the honor which you propose to confer upon me, and I cannot adequately express my sense of the value which I place upon the approval, by my fellow-citizens, of the manner in which I have discharged the duties of my diplomatic mission.

That approval itself amply compensates me for the labors and zeal with which I claim to have represented the Republic at the Court to which I was accredited. I am grateful also that you recognize the earnestness of my endeavors to cultivate feelings of social regard between the people of the United States and the government and people of the United Kingdom, for these I deem the most important incidental duties of my high office.

I have mingled freely with various classes of people in Great Britain and Ireland, and have uniformly been treated with the utmost consideration and kindness. While, however, cherishing relations of friendship and mutual good-will with a kindred race, I have constantly sought to maintain the honor and to promote

the best interest of our own country, and it gives me the highest satisfaction to believe that at no former period have our international relations with the parent country been in a more satisfactory condition than at the present time.

Although under ordinary circumstances it would afford me great pleasure to accept your invitation, yet I esteem it my duty to decline it, in consequence of the melancholy loss so recently sustained by our city and our common country. A few days subsequent to the date of your letter the United States were deprived by death of their greatest statesman; and the insignia of mourning, which meet our eyes in every direction, justly attest the deep sorrow, which pervades all classes of our people, for the national bereavement.

At such a season of general grief, I should appear to be wanting in respect for the dead, and in consideration for the living, were I to accept a festive entertainment as a testimonial of the services of which you are pleased to speak so kindly.

In the belief that the feelings which have prompted my decision will find a full response in your own and the hearts of those whom you represent, I have the honor to be, with sentiments of very great respect, your obliged friend, and obedient servant,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

To Messrs. NATHAN APPLETON, ROBERT G. SHAW, and others.

From the remarks of the English press on the return of Mr. Lawrence to the United States we will take, as a fair sample of the whole, a few sentences from an article in the "Army Despatch," which was copied into the "Boston Daily Advertiser" of October 30, 1852:—

". . . Suffice it to say that both America and England owe Mr. Lawrence a deep debt of gratitude. He has done more perhaps than any American living to unite the two countries in the bonds of friendship. . . . If he have mixed with our aristocracy he has but taught them to respect the greatness of America. Let it be remembered that he has equally addressed himself to our middle and working classes. Let not his visit to Ireland be forgotten, where he played no agitator's part, but, in fulfilling the mission of his country, contrived, as few others

would or could have done, to do kindly service at the same time to England. We believe that this last act was — by conduct at once decided and friendly, but by stepping somewhat beyond the usual rules of frigid, diplomatic etiquette — to save England and America from the great curse of a rupture. We have reason to know that his active and timely remonstrance and warning induced the British Government to stay a rash hand and curb an ill-advised measure. When Mr. Lawrence goes he will deserve the regrets of one country and the welcome of another."

The journey through Ireland here referred to had been almost like a royal progress, but this allusion to it requires some qualification. A friend of Mr. Lawrence, residing in London at the time, from whom we have already quoted, gives the following explanation: —

"I think the writer in the 'Army Despatch' exaggerates when he says that any advice of Mr. Lawrence induced the British Government to stay a rash hand. I believe the truth is, that the Government was disturbed by the demonstrations made in Ireland; but that Mr. Lawrence's tact gave them a turn, which deprived them of political significance, and his subsequent conversations with Ministers in London allayed all feeling. Ireland was, at that time, still excited by the events of 1848; and movements were constantly made for the pardon of the political convicts. Smith O'Brien, one of these, was a near connection of Lord Malmesbury, who became Foreign Minister in 1852."

From the words of welcome addressed to Mr. Lawrence on his arrival, by the newspaper press, we select the following paragraphs, taken from an article which appeared in the "Boston Atlas" of November 4.

"The decease of Mr. Webster, and the press of political matter incident upon the near approach of the presidential election, have prevented us from noticing, in a manner worthy of the man, the return of the Hon. Abbott Lawrence to his home after a residence of more than three years in England, where he held the post of American Minister, the highest official appointment held by an American abroad. We are glad to know that Mr. Lawrence returns to his home in good health, and we know also that his old friends and fellow-citizens are glad to greet him as of

old, and welcome him back to his home. Mr. Lawrence has won high honor by the admirable manner in which he has discharged his official duties. He was without doubt the most popular Minister we have had to represent us abroad for many years. We have frequently, during his absence, heard him spoken of in the kindest manner by American gentlemen, from different sections of the Union, who have met him in England.

"Mr. Lawrence has a true American heart. He is an American in all his feelings and hopes: and he represented truly, in all its parts, the interests of his country. He has been liberal in his principles, liberal in his household. No American abroad has ever found him deficient in any qualification becoming his station, or regardless of the rights and interests of the people whom he represented. . . . By the last steamer we have received a number of papers of different shades of English politics, in several of which there are kind notices of the returning Minister. Differing on many questions, they agree in regard to Mr. Lawrence, and class him among the most able and popular diplomatists our nation has sent abroad.

"Mr. Lawrence was fortunate in the selection of his secretary, Mr. Davis of Worcester, of whose courtesy and kindness we have frequently heard mention, and whose abilities as a writer and speaker have been often called into requisition. No doubt his many friends in Worcester will give him a hearty welcome home. Nor can we withhold our expression of regard for, and our cordial welcome to, Colonel Bigelow Lawrence, whose connection with the embassy has given opportunity for the display of his many excellent qualities of head and heart. We were hoping that he would have been continued abroad as secretary to the new Minister, however much we should have missed him at home. The experience which he has had, and the popularity he has gained among Americans who have visited London during his sojourn there, would have made his appointment most acceptable."

CHAPTER XI.

INTEREST IN THE CAUSE OF EDUCATION — THE LAWRENCE SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL.

Mr. Lawrence's character, in all respects that of the pure New England type, was peculiarly so in the love and zeal which he always manifested in the cause of popular education. At the jubilee celebration of the Lawrence Academy in Groton in 1854, he said: —

"The men who had achieved our independence were not unmindful of the education of their children. They were poor in purse but rich in public spirit, justly believing that civil liberty could not be maintained without education, religion, and law. These veterans set themselves to work to lay the foundation of an academy, which was accomplished after much trial and tribulation. And we, who have enjoyed the blessings resulting from the wisdom of our fathers, are assembled here to-day to commemorate the event, and to do homage to those founders."

Not only was he indebted to this academy for such education as he had received, but he had become so imbued with the spirit of its founders, as set forth in the words we have quoted, that in all his subsequent course it exercised a controlling influence over him. We have an illustration of this in the letters written by him when he established the Lawrence prizes in the High and Latin Schools in Boston.

In the first of these letters, addressed to the Hon. William J. Hubbard and bearing date August 14, 1844, he wrote: —

"My son informed me, on my return from Newport last evening, to which I return this afternoon, that you had called for the purpose of asking a donation from me to aid in creating a fund which will produce ninety dollars *per annum*, to be distributed in medals, books, etc., among those pupils of the High School who may excel in the various branches of learning taught in that valuable institution.

"I beg to present to you my thanks for the opportunity afforded me of bearing testimony to the high estimation I have always placed upon all our public schools, and the interest I still entertain for their prosperity.

"The system of Free Schools in New England I deem one of our chief glories; and upon the preservation of that system rests in a great measure the permanency of our civil and religious institutions.

"I have not time to say more, but beg to place at the disposal of the Committee the sum of two thousand dollars, which I presume will be ample to carry out the plan you have indicated."

A year later, July 26, 1845, a similar sum was given to the Latin School, and we make an extract from the letter which accompanied it, as follows: —

"The Latin School of this city is an institution on which our fellow-citizens of the present day look with pride and satisfaction, and which has been cherished with affection and confidence for more than two centuries. I consider this school as the fountain of classical education among us, from which streams of knowledge flow that enrich the mind and elevate the New England character. I have a desire to offer to my fellow-citizens a testimonial of the respect I entertain for classical knowledge, and especially for this school, which has been and is now so nobly sustained by them. I beg therefore, through you, to present to the city of Boston the sum of two thousand dollars, the interest of which, as nearly as may be, shall be expended annually forever (under the direction of the sub-committee having charge of the Public Latin School of Boston) in prizes for the best performances in the various branches of literature and science taught in that institution,

and in such other rewards for excellence and industry as may be thought best calculated to promote the object and true interests of education, and to keep alive a spirit of generous emulation and literary ardor through the several departments and all the different grades of said school.

"It is not my wish that the whole of said interest should be expended in prizes for abstract or comparative excellence, which would naturally fall to the most talented and most advanced scholars, but that a portion should be appropriated to the reward of those whose industry and diligent application manifest a desire to improve, though the least gifted by nature, and also a portion for good conduct in general, embracing moral rectitude and gentlemanlike deportment."

Mr. Lawrence's educational benefactions and the spirit which prompted them furnish a happy illustration of the following verses from Whittier's well-known poem inscribed to Massachusetts: —

"The riches of the Commonwealth
Are free, strong minds and hearts of health;
And more to her than gold or grain,
The cunning hand and cultured brain.

"For well she keeps her ancient stock,
The stubborn strength of Pilgrim Rock;
And still maintains, with milder laws
And clearer light, the Good Old Cause!

"Nor heeds the sceptic's puny hands,
While near her school the church-spire stands;
Nor fears the blinded bigot's rule,
While near her church-spire stands the school."

When building the city of Lawrence, the school, the library, and the church were kept in mind almost equally with the mill. Mr. Lawrence sent a contribution to the Congregational Church, — the first, we believe, to be erected, — and he assisted in the endowment of the Franklin Library. In a letter enclosing a

thousand dollars to this institution, which also received a bequest of five thousand dollars at his death, he said (July, 1847): —

"It is no less the duty than the privilege of those who possess influence in creating towns and cities to lay the foundations deep and strong. Let the standard be high in religious, moral, and intellectual culture, and there can be no well-grounded fear for the result."

He could not discuss the tariff question with Mr. Rives without giving expression to a somewhat similar thought. In one of his letters he wrote: —

"All intellectual culture should be founded upon our Holy Religion. The pure precepts of the Gospel are the only safe source from which we can freely draw our morality."

Certainly he had a right to speak on these subjects with authority, as he did with boldness, yet with characteristic courtesy, on more than one occasion during his residence in England.

In his speech at the Town Hall in Manchester, from which we have already quoted, and which was, in fact, an off-hand, almost conversational address, he said: —

"I am here in the midst, probably, of a population of four hundred thousand persons, the wealthiest city, perhaps, that exists in the world; and amidst all your property and with the increase of population here, I hope you will not deem it impertinent if I say to you, Remember, gentlemen, remember to ascertain, almost from day to day, whether your exertions in the cause of education and the inculcation of sound morals and religion keep pace with this prosperity. I did not rise, gentlemen, to lecture you upon your duties; but I know the human heart so well, that in reaching on from day to day and from hour to hour for something which does not always do us good, we are too apt to forget (you are not alone, — we all forget) the higher duties we have to perform; and one point on which I hope you may learn something from us is that of the universal education of the people of Great Britain. I hope I am not trespassing

[No, no; go on]: I do not know whether it is proper for me or not; but I shall take the liberty to say here that in connection with Great Britain's influence and power in the scale of nations I hold it to be one of the essential conditions upon which, half a century hence, you are to maintain that position among the nations, that you should educate your people. You should now set about it, this day; it is every man's business. It is not the business of the eminent prelate [the Bishop of Manchester [1]] any more than it is yours, Mr. Mayor, or any more than it is that of any man who hears me; it is the duty of every Christian man to promote the education of the whole people: and if the whole of the people are educated in England you may bid defiance to all the tyrants in the world."

We have reserved until the last, in this division of our subject, our reference to the foundation of the Scientific School at Cambridge, Mr. Lawrence's largest and most widely celebrated benefaction. Mr. Everett, in his inaugural address as President of Harvard University (April 30, 1846), announced the project of a separate scientific school, which had for some time previously been a subject of discussion, in the following language: —

"It is a question well worthy to be entertained, whether the time is not arrived when a considerable expansion may be given to our system, of a twofold character: first, by establishing a philosophical faculty, in which the various branches of science and literature should be cultivated beyond the limits of an academical course, with a view to a complete liberal education; and secondly, by organizing a school of theoretical and practical science, for the purpose especially of teaching its application to the arts of life, and of furnishing a supply of skilful engineers and of persons well qualified to explore and bring to light the inexhaustible natural treasures of the country, and to guide its vast industrial energies in their rapid development."

Not long after this, Professor Horsford, of New York, was called to the Rumford Professorship in Cambridge,

[1] The Right Rev. James Prince Lee, D.D.

and upon entering on his duties he submitted to the Corporation a plan for the erection and furnishing of a laboratory for instruction in chemistry and its application to the arts, at an estimated cost of fifty thousand dollars. This plan the Treasurer, Mr. Samuel A. Eliot, laid before Mr. Lawrence, who, after due consideration, responded to the appeal which had been made to him by the offer of a sum large enough to cover the entire contemplated expenditure. The very able and interesting letter which communicated this noble purpose was as follows: —

Boston, June 7, 1847.

My dear Sir,—I have more than once conversed with you upon the subject of establishing a school for the purpose of teaching the practical sciences, in this city or neighborhood; and was gratified when I learned from you that the Government of Harvard University had determined to establish such a school in Cambridge, and that a professor had been appointed who is eminent in the science of Chemistry, and who is to be supported on the foundation created by the munificence of the late Count Rumford.

For several years I have seen and felt the pressing want in our community (and, in fact, in the whole country) of an increased number of men educated in the practical sciences. Elementary education appears to be well provided for in Massachusetts. There is, however, a deficiency in the means for higher education in certain branches of knowledge. For an early classical education we have our schools and colleges. From thence the special schools of Theology, Law, Medicine, and Surgery receive the young men destined to those professions; and those who look to commerce as their employment pass to the counting-house or the ocean. But where can we send those who intend to devote themselves to the practical applications of science? How educate our engineers, our miners, machinists, and mechanics? Our country abounds in men of action. Hard hands are ready to work upon our hard materials; and where shall sagacious heads be taught to direct those hands?

Inventive men laboriously reinvent what has been produced before. Ignorant men fight against the laws of nature with

a vain energy, and purchase their experience at great cost. Why should not all these start where their predecessors ended, and not where they began? Education can enable them to do so. The application of science to the useful arts has changed, in the last half-century, the condition and relations of the world. It seems to me that we have been somewhat neglectful in the cultivation and encouragement of the scientific portion of our national economy.

Our country is rapidly increasing in population and wealth, and is probably destined in another quarter of a century to contain nearly as many inhabitants as now exist in France and England together.

We have already in the United States a large body of young men who have received a classical education, many of whom find it difficult to obtain a livelihood in what are termed the learned professions. I believe the time has arrived when we should make an effort to diversify the occupations of our people, and develop more fully their strong mental and physical resources, throughout the Union. We have perhaps stronger motives in New England than in any other part of our country to encourage scientific pursuits, from the fact that we must hereafter look for our main support to the pursuit of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts; to which it becomes our duty, in my humble judgment, to make all the appliances of science within our power. We inherit, and are forced to cultivate, a sterile soil; and what nature has denied should be, as far as possible, supplied by art. We must make better farmers through the application of chemical and agricultural science.

We need, then, a school, not for boys, but for young men whose early education is completed either in college or elsewhere, and who intend to enter upon an active life as engineers or chemists, or, in general, as men of science, applying their attainments to practical purposes, where they may learn what has been done at other times and in other countries, and may acquire habits of investigation and reflection, with an aptitude for observing and describing.

I have thought that the three great practical branches to which a scientific education is to be applied among us are, 1st. Engineering; 2nd. Mining, in its extended sense, including Metallurgy; 3rd. The invention and manufacture of machinery.

These must be deemed kindred branches, starting from the same point, depending in many respects on the same principles, and gradually diverging to their more special applications. Mathematics, especially in their application to the construction and combination of machinery; Chemistry, the foundation of knowledge, and an all-important study, for the mining engineer, and the key to the processes by which the rude ore becomes the tenacious and ductile metal; Geology, Mineralogy, and the other sciences investigating the properties and uses of materials employed in the arts; Carpentry, Masonry, Architecture, and Drawing,— are all studies which should be pursued, to a greater or less extent, in one or all of these principal divisions.

To establish such a school as I have endeavored to describe in connection with the University, and under the care and general guidance of its Government, requires buildings with suitable lecture-rooms and philosophical apparatus, with models and plans, and a place for their deposit and safe-keeping, together with a cabinet where every description of wood, ores, metals, etc., may be deposited for the use of the students. Without the above appliances the professors would be workmen without tools. The University has already appointed Mr. Horsford Rumford Professor, who proposes to give instruction upon an enlarged plan in the science of Chemistry. I have often heard Professor Horsford spoken of in terms of high commendation, and as in all respects competent to take charge of this important department of science, and to bring out the most favorable results. The testimony rendered at home to Mr. Horsford's capacity has been very agreeable to me, and had satisfied me that the selection made by the Government of the College was fortunate; but I have lately learned, in addition to the high character given him by his friends here, that the great practical chemist of the age, Liebig, has given his most unqualified testimony to the ability and fidelity of Professor Horsford, who was the pupil of Baron Liebig for two years.

I deem it of the highest importance, and, in fact, essential, that none but first-rate men should occupy the professors' chairs in this school. Its success depends upon the characters of the instructors. They should be men of comprehensive views and acknowledged talents, possessing industry and integrity, with an enthusiastic devotion to the great interests of science. They

should love their profession, and work in it day by day. Such teachers will soon gather around them a large number of pupils.

To carry out this course of education in its practical branches, there should be the most thorough instruction in Engineering, Geology, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Natural Philosophy, and Natural History. Chemistry is provided for; and in the last two branches instruction might perhaps be given by the present College professors. In addition to these, it would be necessary to obtain the services, at stated periods, of eminent men from the practical walks of life. The Law School is taught by distinguished lawyers of the highest reputation; the Medical School, by distinguished physicians. In like manner, this School of Science should number among its teachers men who have practised and are practising the arts they are called to teach. Let theory be proved by practical results.

To defray the expenditures, means must be procured for the erection of suitable buildings (not including dwelling-houses), the purchase of apparatus, furniture, etc., and provision must be made for the comfortable support of the professors and other teachers employed. For this purpose let the students be invited freely from all quarters, at a moderate charge for tuition. Let the numbers be only limited by the size of the lecture-rooms, and I cannot entertain a doubt that a large revenue would be derived from tuition fees. I would suggest three permanent professors, namely, one of Chemistry (already appointed), one of Engineering in its various branches, and one of Geology. The support of the first is for the present time provided for. For the other two, a moderate fund must be obtained, as a nucleus of a further sum which should be added to it, to make the capital equal to that of the Rumford Professorship. The professors in this school should depend, to a considerable extent, upon fees; it is the best guarantee to exertion and fidelity, and the permanent prosperity of the institution. I will therefore further suggest that each of the above professors shall receive, after all ordinary expenses shall have been paid, one half of the tuition fees, till they amount to a sum annually not exceeding three thousand dollars, including their stated salaries; and that the Government of the College pay such sums to other teachers, whether temporary or permanent,

as they may deem expedient, and that the other half of the said tuition fees be reserved and added to any fund that may be hereafter contributed to establish and found the two professorships before mentioned.

I have now, my dear sir, given you a brief and very imperfect sketch of such a school of sciences as I believe the condition of our extensive and growing country requires, and you will ask how the means are to be obtained to carry out the plan, when we shall soon have an appeal made to our liberality, as well as to the sense of our best interests, to contribute a large sum of money for the purpose of finishing the Astronomical Department so auspiciously commenced in Cambridge. This department of science has already engaged the public sympathy, and will, I doubt not, be taken up at an early day, and placed in an independent and useful position. I cherish a wish to see the Observatory, the telescope and every instrument required to prosecute the heavenly science, ready for use, and do not intend to interfere with the claims the world has on our community to accomplish this great and important object. Nor do I mean to occupy the ground of another branch of science that will, I suppose, at a future time, present strong claims upon the public bounty. I allude to Natural History, now in charge of that accomplished naturalist, Dr. Gray. I wish to see all these branches of science prosecuted with vigor, and moving forward in perfect harmony at Cambridge.

I therefore propose to offer, through you, for the acceptance of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, the sum of fifty thousand dollars, to be appropriated as I have indicated in the foregoing remarks. The buildings I have supposed, without having made estimates, could be erected, including an extensive laboratory, for about thirty thousand dollars. If so, there will remain the sum of twenty thousand dollars; and I suggest that whatever sum may remain, after the erection and furnishing of the buildings, should form the basis of a fund which, together with one half of the tuition fees, till the amount shall yield the sum of three thousand dollars annually, shall be equally divided between the Professor of Engineering and the Professor of Geology, and be made a permanent foundation for these professorships. The object is to place the three professors in this school in the same pecuniary situation. I beg to suggest,

further, that the whole income of this school be devoted to the acquisition, illustration, and dissemination of the practical sciences forever.

The details, however, and conditions of this donation may be hereafter arranged between the Corporation and myself. I now leave the whole subject in the hands of the gentlemen composing the Corporation, in the hope and faith that the plan may be adopted and executed with as much expedition as may be consistent with economy; and that it may prove honorable to the University and useful to the country.

I pray you, dear sir, to believe I remain

Most faithfully your friend,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

To the Hon. SAMUEL A. ELIOT.

Soon after the receipt of this donation by the University, Professor Agassiz, of Switzerland, was invited to the chair of Zoölogy and Geology, and at a later period Lieutenant Eustis, of the Army, was called to that of Engineering. At the Commencement of 1848 the Corporation conferred on the institution the name of the Lawrence Scientific School. During the following year a laboratory, unsurpassed even in Europe at that time, in its conveniences for practical instruction, was erected and furnished; and in 1850 a building was constructed for the temporary accommodation of the departments of Zoölogy, Geology, and Engineering.

At his death Mr. Lawrence gave the institution a further sum of fifty thousand dollars, which greatly strengthened its position, and further increased its capabilities for usefulness.

Our account of the foundation of the Lawrence Scientific School would be incomplete if it failed to refer to the great pleasure given to his elder brother by Mr. Lawrence's liberal donation. This brother, less vigorous in health, had taken pride in Abbott's energy and prowess, even when as a boy in their native town he was

the guiding spirit in breaking through blockading snow-drifts, and in all youthful sports. He had watched over him with almost parental solicitude on his entrance upon city life and during his business apprenticeship; later, he had taken him to his confidence as a partner, and had soon learned to lean upon him in the early maturity of his powers, and in the gradual ripening of his experience; he had followed him in his public life thus far with the intensest satisfaction; and when his purpose, as communicated in the letter to the Treasurer of Harvard College, became known to him, he was prompted to write a note, which will always stand as a beautiful memento of the tender affection which subsisted between the brothers, and of the hearty and appreciative sympathy with which each regarded the good words and works of the other. The note was as follows: —

Wednesday Morning, June 9, 1847.

Dear Brother Abbott, — I hardly dare trust myself to speak what I feel, and therefore write a word to say that I thank God I am spared to this day to see accomplished by one so near and dear to me this last best work ever done by one of our name, which will prove a better title to true nobility than any from the potentates of the world. It is more honorable and more to be coveted than the highest political station in our country, purchased as those stations often are by time-serving. It is to impress upon unborn millions the great truth that our talents are trusts committed to us for use, and to be accounted for when the Master calls. This magnificent plan is the great thing which you will see carried out if your life is spared; and you may well cherish it as the thing nearest your heart. It enriches your descendants in a way that mere money can never do, and is a better investment than any you have ever made.

Your affectionate brother,

Amos.

To Abbott Lawrence.

In recognition of Mr. Lawrence's hearty and generous interest in the cause of education, as well as of his valu-

able public services, Williams College, in 1852, and Harvard College, in 1854, conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. We may add in this connection that at the time of his death he was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Antiquarian Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and the Board of Overseers of Harvard College.

CHAPTER XII.

RELIGIOUS CHARACTER. — INTEREST IN ENGLISH CONGREGATIONALISM. — SICKNESS AND DEATH. — ESTIMATE OF HIS CHARACTER AND WORKS — PUBLISHED WRITINGS. — PORTRAITS. — CONCLUSION.

The keystone in the symmetrical and well-rounded character which we have endeavored to describe was a reverent faith in the Christian religion as an unerring standard for personal endeavor, and as an unfailing power for the regeneration of society. The spontaneous utterance in one of the letters to Mr. Rives, which we have already quoted, may well be repeated, as being evidently a deep conviction of the heart, which exercised a constant and controlling influence upon the life: —

"All intellectual culture should be founded upon our Holy Religion. The pure precepts of the Gospel are the only safe source from which we can freely draw our morality."

When Mr. Lawrence came to Boston, in 1808, he joined the congregation in Brattle Square, then under the ministerial care of the Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster, of which his brother Amos was a member; and he continued to be a constant worshipper and a faithful parishioner in the same church, under the successive pastorates of Mr. Buckminster, Mr. Everett, Dr. Palfrey, and Dr. Lothrop, until his death. He became a communicant at or about the time of his marriage in 1819. During his residence in London as American ambassador he and his family

attended regularly the Scotch Church in Crown Court, of which the Rev. Dr. Cumming was minister. This excellent and highly gifted clergyman, known chiefly in the United States in connection with his millenarian views, was, for many years, and until his retirement from the pulpit not long since, one of the most popular preachers in the metropolis, and one of the most eloquent platform speakers of the day. He inscribed one of the editions of his celebrated "Apocalyptic Sketches" to Mr. Lawrence, saying in the dedication: —

"My publishers inform me that they have been requested to issue an edition of this volume in America. I regard this as an opportunity of expressing a conviction, shared and felt by the good and great of this country, how much they appreciated your presence in London as the representative of your magnificent nation, and how deeply — I may add universally — they regretted your departure. We never had so popular and so esteemed a Minister from America, or one who has done so much to leave lasting and elevated impressions of his countrymen.

"I have, perhaps, a greater reason for dedicating this work to you. You were a stated worshipper within the walls of this church in which it is my privilege to minister; and of all the varieties of class within its walls, you were not the least known, esteemed, and respected.

"I state these facts as in some degree an apology for this dedication. I do not expect that you will agree with all I have written in this volume; but you know so well that I am one with you in all essential truths, that you will easily pardon any difference you may discover in subordinate matters."

While in London, Mr. Lawrence became much interested in the work of the Rev. John Waddington, pastor of an ancient Pilgrim church in Southwark. It was claimed for this church that it had been formed in 1587 or 1588, and fully organized by the choice of Johnson as pastor, and Greenwood as teacher, in 1592; also that, its membership having been scattered by the bitter persecution

of the time, it had been brought together and reorganized in 1616 by Henry Jacob, who had previously been a minister of the established order. We believe that the original church was removed to Amsterdam, and that only a small remnant of it afterward became a part of the church organized in 1616. Be this as it may, the Southwark church had an interesting history, and when Mr. Lawrence arrived in England, in 1849, it had just lost its meeting-house, by the lapse of a long lease, and Mr. Waddington was seeking the help of English Nonconformists, and of the descendants of the Pilgrims in the New World, in the erection of a new house of worship. Mr. Lawrence gave his hearty sympathy to this object, and addressed a letter to Mr. Waddington, dated 138 Piccadilly, London, 22nd April, 1851, from which we quote two or three paragraphs: —

"I have read with much pleasure the papers you were kind enough to send me, respecting the efforts you are now making to erect a Congregational church to the memory of the Pilgrim Fathers. In common with most of my countrymen, I entertain the most profound and sincere reverence for the memory of the band of heroic Christians who — in the face, in the Old World, of neglect if not of oppression, and in the New, of terrific trials, of countless dangers, of death from cold, from starvation, and from a treacherous foe — founded a Christian colony which has now grown into one of the great nations of the earth. If that nation has proved to the world that religious freedom and religious faith may flourish together, or that perfect liberty and perfect law are not incompatible, I attribute it, in no slight degree, to the deep and permanent influence which the principles of Brewster and Robinson, Carver and Bradford, and their little Commonwealth, have had upon its character.

"It seems superfluous to speak of this little community of men and women (noble women, too), which has now become one of the admirations of the world, and which gathered within its ranks as great, I believe, if not a greater amount of Christian faith, fortitude, endurance, and hope than was ever found of equal numbers on earth. The Rock of Plymouth, where they

finally made their home, has become our Mecca, to which we annually, on the wintry anniversary of their landing, make a pilgrimage to renew our vows of fidelity to the principles of our forefathers, and offer up our thankful devotions to their and our God for the civil and religious liberty he has permitted us to inherit from them. Long may that rock remain, — a monument to teach my countrymen so to conduct the affairs of the present, that the future may not be unworthy of the past we have received.

"The influence of their example is not confined to the land where it was displayed. Europe has begun to study their principles, and I think I see their influence extending in this country. I am proud when I see efforts like the present to extend among the British people a just knowledge of these English men and women. You, too, may well be proud to be the pastor of a church where they preached and worshipped, and may appeal without fear to our brethren, both in England and throughout the world, to come forward and erect a church in commemoration of an event, the effects of which, already deeply felt, are destined probably to influence the world more than any other in modern history."

It was the purpose of Mr. Lawrence, on his return to the United States, to bring this matter prominently before the various historical and religious societies, but many circumstances intervened until his death to prevent his doing all that he had wished. Later, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Waddington made a visit to this country, and in Boston was cordially received by Mrs. Lawrence, Mr. James Lawrence, Dr. Blagden, Dr. Lothrop, Dr. Kirk, and other influential Congregationalists. In his volume, "The Hidden Church," in which the letter above referred to appears in full, he expresses (p. 296) his sense of obligation to Mrs. Lawrence, in the following words: —

"The pen must be restrained in reference to matters of private interest; but, in the event of the ultimate accomplishment of the object, it should be known to all who are specially concerned, that, but for the magnificent kindness of Mrs. Lawrence, the feeble hands into which the undertaking fell must have relin-

quished their grasp. From personal regard to the memory of the Pilgrims, and with relative sympathy, kindred with that of Lady Franklin in another object, Mrs. Lawrence gave the timely aid which prevented the defeat of a purpose rendered so sacred in her estimation by the letter just quoted."

Mr. Lawrence lived less than three years after his return from London. He held no public position, but his time and thought were, as always, largely given to political and philanthropic questions. He vigorously opposed the new State constitution of 1853, which was rejected by the people in the autumn of that year. He foresaw the speedy breaking up of the Whig party, and expressed his regret that it had failed to take such a stand, in opposition to slavery extension, as the country had expected and required from it. Had he lived only a few months longer, he would have identified himself with the new Republican party, and would have taken his place among its leaders. To this party, very early in its history, those who inherited his name heartily attached themselves. But his own earthly activities were soon, too soon, to be brought to a close. In the autumn of 1854 he had a return of the disease which had so severely prostrated him in Washington thirteen or fourteen years previously; and although his strength rallied somewhat as the winter advanced, his friends felt that there was much occasion for anxiety about him.

Mr. Prescott, writing to Lady Lyell, Nov. 4, 1854, speaks of having spent "a very quiet month at old Pepperell," where Mr. Lawrence had stayed two days with him, and goes on to say: —

"But poor Lawrence went from us to Groton to pass a few days, and while there had a bad attack of — I don't know what, nor the doctors either — great pains in the chest, pressure on the head, and insensibility. Yet they do not think it apoplectic in its character, but arising from a disturbance of the liver, to

which he has been subject. Any way, it is very alarming. It is the third attack of the kind he has had in six weeks, and it makes all his friends 'guess and fear' for the future. He is now on a very careful regimen, and pays little attention to business or anything that can excite him. His loss would have been a great one to this community, and it certainly would be inestimable to his family. There are few whom I should be more sorry to part with, for besides good sense and large practical information, he has such a genial nature, with such frank and joyous manners as are not often found among us cold-blooded Yankees. I would not have you think from all this that he is at the point of death. On the contrary, I have just met him in the street, and looking very well. But his constitution is shaken."

In another letter several months later (June 17, 1855), Mr. Prescott, writing to the same friend, mentions Mr. Lawrence's serious illness, and adds: —

"It is the old trouble, chiefly of the liver. A fortnight since, as I walked with him round the Common, I told him he was losing ground, and should go to Europe. I went in and saw his wife, and it was arranged before I left that he should take passage for England the 20th of June. That night he became very ill, and has been ever since in bed. He is now slowly mending, and, if well enough, will embark probably early in July; I should not think, however, before the middle of it. He just sent me from his sick-bed a scrap of paper, simply stating that 'eighty years ago, June 17th, his father and my grandfather fought side by side on Bunker Hill,' — a stirring reminiscence for a sick-bed."

The summer of 1855 was a trying and wearisome one, both for the sufferer and for those who attended him; but says Mr. Prescott in his Memoir: "During the long period of his confinement his sufferings served only to show the sweetness of his disposition. The circumstances which filled those around him with wretchedness, and with apprehensions they could ill disguise, had no power to

disturb his serenity. He loved life. No man had greater reason to love it, for he had all that makes life valuable. But, as his hold loosened upon it, no murmur, no sigh of regret, escaped his lips; while he bowed in perfect submission to the will of that Almighty Father who had ever dealt with him so kindly. As his strength of body diminished, that of his affections seemed to increase. He appeared to be constantly occupied with thoughts of others rather than of himself; and many a touching instance did he give of this thoughtfulness, and of his tender recollection of those who were dear to him. The desire of doing good, on the broadest scale, clung to him to the last. Not two weeks before his death he was occupied with arranging the plan of the model houses for the poor, for which he made so noble a provision in his will. . . . He was dying with everything around him to soften the bitterness of death, — above all, with the sweet consciousness that he had not lived in vain. On the 18th of August, 1855, a few months before he had completed his sixty-third year, he expired, and that so gently that those around could not be sure of the precise moment when his spirit took its flight."

The tidings of Mr. Lawrence's death made a deep impression upon the community in the midst of which he had lived so prominently and so usefully for more than forty years. A meeting of his fellow-citizens was convened in Faneuil Hall to take proper notice of the event; and the crowds of business men and others who were in attendance at the unusual hour of noon, and their evident sense of public and personal loss, testified to the high position of respect and esteem which he had held among them. The mayor (Dr. Smith) called the meeting to order, and the chair was taken by Mr. William Sturgis, who had been associated with Mr. Lawrence in the pioneer party, ten years before, which determined the site of the present city of Lawrence. Speeches were

made by Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Everett, Mr. J. Thomas Stevenson, and others; and the writer of these pages, who was present, well remembers the sympathetic response which they awakened in those who listened to them. Mr. Winthrop was undoubtedly correct when he said that Boston had then hardly another life of equal value to lose. He said further: —

"His name was a tower of strength to every good cause, and it was never given to a bad one. His noble bearing and genial presence seemed the very embodiment of an enlarged and enlightened public spirit. If some one of the gifted artists of our land should desire hereafter to personify, on the breathing canvas or in the living marble, the mingled dignity and energy, the blended benevolence, generosity, and enterprise, which have characterized the good Boston merchant for so many generations past, I know not how he could ever do so more successfully than by portraying the very form which has just been laid low, and by moulding the very lineaments upon which death has now set its seal. I cannot think of him as he was among us but yesterday, without recalling the beautiful words of Edmund Burke in reference to his friend Sir George Saville: 'When an act of great and signal humanity was to be done, and done with all the weight and authority that belonged to it, this community could cast its eyes on none but him.'"

Mr. Everett said, in closing: —

"Such he was, — so kind, so noble, so complete in all that makes a man; and the ultimate source of all this goodness, its vital principle, that which brought all his qualities into harmonious relation, was religious principle, — the faith, the hope of the gospel. This is no theme for a place like this, — other lips and another occasion will do it justice; but this it was which gave full tone to his character, and which bore him through the last great trial."

On the day of the funeral, flags on the public buildings and on the shipping of the port were displayed at half-mast, the bells of many of the churches were rung, and

business was generally suspended while the services were in progress. These were held, first, privately, at the home in Park Street, and then in Brattle Square Church, which was filled to its utmost capacity. The interment took place in the beautiful burying-lot of the Lawrences, in the cemetery of Mount Auburn.

The First Regiment of Massachusetts Infantry participated in the funeral solemnities, and Mr. James Lawrence, in acknowledging the tribute thus paid to his father's memory, wrote to Colonel Chickering: —

"Among all the evidences of the sympathy which have been exhibited by his fellow-citizens, none shall we remember with greater satisfaction than that offered by your command. I assure you that we appreciate it most deeply. My father was, as you know, a sincere friend to the military. He saw the necessity, and was sensible of the importance, of a well-organized militia, and never hesitated to sanction it, both by word and act. He had been a soldier himself. He was an original member of one of your companies, and served in its ranks during the War of 1812. I believe that nothing would have given him more satisfaction than to have anticipated that his mortal remains would be guarded to their last resting-place by the successors of his old companions-in-arms."

On the Sunday succeeding Mr. Lawrence's funeral, his minister, the Rev. Dr. Lothrop, preached a commemorative discourse, in which he thus spoke of his religious character: —

"The benevolence of Mr. Lawrence, and all the virtues of his life, had their strong foundation and constant nourishment in religious faith. He believed in his heart on the Lord Jesus Christ, and received him as the promised Messiah and Saviour of the world. He was truly catholic in his feelings, loving all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth; and he extended the helping hand of his charities to the enterprises of various Christian denominations."

Mr. Lawrence had not waited until his death before making appropriations of his money for the benefit of

others. He had been sowing the seed of charity for many a year, and he was gladdened by some of the fruits of his generosity which came to maturity while he was yet living to enjoy them. Professor Benjamin Peirce wrote to him from Cambridge during his last illness: —

"I cannot conclude without congratulating you upon the success which has been at length attained; and it must smooth the pillow of your sickness to feel that your noble endowment is beginning to return a hundredfold in blessings to the country and in benedictions upon its generous founder."

The American Association for the Advancement of Science was in session at Providence at the time of Mr. Lawrence's death. Professor Alexander Dallas Bache made the announcement of "the decease of one of the most munificent patrons of science, the Hon. Abbott Lawrence of Boston," and added, —

"After struggling for eighteen months with a mortal disease, he at last yielded, and was gone. Having acquired in middle life an ample fortune, Mr. Lawrence, considering himself as the steward of the great property intrusted to him, liberally bestowed a large portion of his immense income upon works of charity and hospitality of the most munificent sort, and upon all objects connected with learning or with science, which were brought properly to his attention. It was in reference to the Lawrence Scientific School that he would particularly address the Association. Mr. Lawrence gave fifty thousand dollars as a foundation for that great institution for the promotion of science and the diffusion of scientific knowledge. And if [said Professor Bache] I am not much mistaken, it will be found in his will that he has continued after his death to that child such a provision as will even raise it to a greater degree of prosperity than it now enjoys. . . . The success of that institution Mr. Lawrence lived to see; and recently one of our colleagues, one of those best calculated to judge of the successful carrying out of that plan, Professor Peirce, after having witnessed the examinations, being struck by the spirit of research and of true philosophy which was in-

culcated there, addressed to Mr. Lawrence on his dying bed a letter, which must have gladdened him to the soul, — a letter telling him what the institution had done. Mr. Lawrence, it would be recollected by some members of the Association, was appointed by General Taylor Secretary of the Navy. He felt compelled to decline it; but on visiting Washington to present his excuses to the President, he mentioned to him [Professor Bache] that one of his greatest regrets in declining was that he could not organize a plan for the nautical almanac which he had considered favorably; 'but,' he added, 'I will speak personally to my successor, that this plan may be carried out by him as if I was Secretary of the Navy.' As Minister to the Court of St. James, the scientific men who visited Europe found always in Mr. Lawrence a kind friend, one who was ready to introduce them everywhere. His hospitality was well known to all; and those members of the Association who had not had the advantage of visiting Europe, but who wished to communicate with scientific men there, found from Mr. Lawrence facilities of every sort, and such as could only be had from one in his position. Such a man deserved that they should express regret at his loss."

Mr. Samuel B. Ruggles spoke of the demand of the times for changed and improved methods in educational training, and insisted that physical science was now a positive necessity, in any enlightened scheme of instruction; he continued: —

"In Abbott Lawrence the fundamental idea was made incarnate, that men, to be men, must study not only words but things. . . . Mr. Ruggles said it had been his good fortune to hear from Mr. Lawrence full and animated expositions of his views on this all-important point; and it was but due to his memory now to bear testimony to the strong, manly sense, the practical sagacity, the noble and ample patriotism which he had carried into the whole subject."

The Rev. Dr. Francis Wayland said: —

"It so happened that Mr. Lawrence was kind enough to converse with him on this subject when he was organizing this

school; and he was very much struck, as his friend Mr. Ruggles was also, with the largeness of his views, the clearness of his conceptions, and with the distinct knowledge that he had of what he was doing. He had a distinct object in view; his object was to commence an institution which should be a type of other institutions that should spread the blessings of science throughout our country in a way in which it had not before been spread abroad. He looked upon him [Mr. Lawrence] as a type, as Mr. Ruggles had said, of what was to be. He had set an example for men of wealth in this country. While Boston would always be proud of the name of Lawrence, there would be other Lawrences arising in New York, in Philadelphia, in all our large cities,—a train of men that would do honor to the country and to human nature. But however large this train might be, however noble and however magnanimous, they would all date from the name of Lawrence, — they would all be the Lawrences of this country. He believed that no honor which they could confer would be really adequate to the noble, high-minded, patriotic effort of this man, whom all felt honored by claiming as their fellow-citizen."

Professor Silliman, the oldest member of the Association, begged to offer his word of tribute to Mr. Lawrence, whom he was proud to claim as an old and valued friend; he reminded the Association that,—

"Upwards of twenty years ago, and while modern geology had to contend with bitter religious prejudices, Abbott Lawrence headed the list of intelligent citizens of Boston willing to examine the wonders of nature, and adore the wisdom of the Creator as exhibited in this material creation. Mr. Lawrence had a devout but fearless spirit, and did not hesitate to read the revelations of God, as well in His works as in His Word,—displaying in this, as in all his other traits, the breadth and freedom and liberality of his manly nature."

Professor Peirce spoke also; and the Association by a rising vote, "and with evident emotion," adopted resolutions expressing regret at the death of Mr. Lawrence, and sincere condolence with his bereaved family.

Dr. Lothrop has recorded the following touching anecdote in connection with one of Mr. Lawrence's private benefactions: —

"At the close of the funeral services on Wednesday, while crowds were passing up this aisle to look upon the face of the dead, as I was standing here just beneath the pulpit, a gentleman who I saw at once was a clergyman came, and, addressing me by name, asked if he might speak to me a moment. My reply was, 'Can you not choose some other time? I cannot attend to any business amid this scene, and with that body lying there.' His answer was, rapid as he could speak, as if his heart was bursting for utterance, and with tears streaming down his cheeks: 'I must leave the city at two o'clock, and must speak now. It is of him who has left that body I would speak. Eighteen years ago I was a poor boy in this city, without means and without friends. I was a member of the Mechanics' Apprentices' Association. Mr. Lawrence came to one of our meetings. He heard me deliver an essay I had written. He spoke to me afterwards — inquired into my circumstances and character. I made known to him my wants and wishes. He furnished me with means to acquire an education; when prepared, told me Harvard was best, but to go to what college I liked. I went to the Wesleyan University. He supported me at it. I am now a minister of the gospel in the State of New York. I saw his death in the paper, and a notice of his funeral to-day. I came on to attend it. He was my greatest benefactor. I owe it to him that I am a minister of the glorious gospel of Christ. I am not the only one he has helped thus. God will accept him. I felt that I must say this to some one; to whom can I better say it than to his clergyman?' With this he hurried away, leaving me only time to learn his name and receive from him a kind promise to write to me."

Mr. Nathan Hale wrote, in the "Boston Daily Advertiser:"—

"Mr. Lawrence valued property as the means of personal independence to himself and of doing good to others. His benefactions, like those of his lamented brother Amos, were almost boundless in number and amount. Every meritorious public

object, every benevolent institution, every incorporated charity, every association of a more private nature for the relief of want, — we may almost say every individual in the community standing in need of aid, — shared his liberality. No day in the year probably passed without an application, and, according to its desert, a successful application to him. Few who read these sentences will not be able to bear witness to their truth. The extent of his bounties was publicly known only in cases where notoriety was necessary; but hundreds of instances, we have reason to think, of good done in secret are known only to those immediately benefited and to the Being who seeth in secret."

As an illustration of the feelings awakened in England by the intelligence of Mr. Lawrence's death, we make the following extract from a letter of the Earl of Ellesmere addressed to Mr. Prescott, September 27, 1855: —

"Your kind and sad letter has remained long unacknowledged. . . . If my right hand had more cunning than it pretends to, it could not convey what either Lady Ellesmere or myself feels on the frustration of the pleasant hope we had lately entertained of meeting again with the kind and good friend, whom I yet hope to meet, though not in this weary world.

> "It seems but a day, but an hour, since he left us,
> With no sign to prepare us, no warning to pain,
> As we clung to the hand of which death has bereft us,
> Little thinking we never should clasp it again.
>
> "We ought to have thought so; — to earth, for a season,
> Worth, friendship, and goodness are lent, but not given;
> And faith but confirms the conjecture of reason,
> That the dearest to earth are the fittest for heaven.

"I venture to quote the above, not as good, for they are my own, but as apposite, be they whose they may. They were written on the loss of a very valued friend and relative, Lord William Bentinck."

We have at hand a note to Colonel Bigelow Lawrence, then in London, from Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, created Lord Lytton a few years later, which further shows the regard in which Mr. Lawrence was held by friends in England: —

PARK PLACE, Friday [October, 1855.]

MY DEAR COLONEL LAWRENCE, — I beg to thank you cordially for your kind letter, and to convey to you my earnest condolence in the loss you have sustained. All that I saw of your admirable father, impressed me with affectionate respect for him. Such men are among the noblest ties between the two nations, and I feel as if one of them were broken — *uno avulso non deficit alter*.

I fear there is little chance of my ever visiting the United States; but let me hope to see you and Mrs. Lawrence again in England, and accept for her and yourself my sincere and warm wishes for prosperity and health, wherever you rove or settle.

Yours most truly,

E. B. LYTTON.

The public bequests under the will of Mr. Lawrence amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. This included the second gift to the Scientific School, of which we have already spoken;[1] a donation of ten thousand dollars to the Boston Public Library; and fifty thousand dollars for the erection of model lodging-houses for the poor. Of this last-named gift one who had personally known him wrote in the "New York Evening Mail," in August, 1876, as follows: —

"There are many ways of building one's own monument, some of them wise, and some otherwise. Among the former must surely be included the method whereby the late Hon. Abbott Lawrence, of Boston, secured by his will the erection of a monument for the perpetuation of his name and memory. Already the founder of the Lawrence Scientific School in Harvard University, Mr. Lawrence in his will struck out a new channel for the benevolent impulses of his survivors, in the bequest of fifty thousand dollars for the erection of model lodging-houses, in which persons of respectable character and moderate means might economically and in comfort find a home. It was a condition of the will that the surplus income from the rents of these houses should be forever applied to

[1] On the 1st of January, 1865, Mr. James Lawrence added to his father's endowment of the Scientific School by a gift of fifty thousand dollars.

charitable purposes, thus compounding, as it were, the good intentions of the giver. Giving was to Abbott Lawrence a luxury; in an atmosphere of benevolence and liberality it was his delight to live. To scatter plentifully around him the seeds of happiness was his every-day desire, and none who ever saw him or heard him speak will be likely to forget the genial smile, the fascinating address, the impressive presence, and the abounding *bonhomie* of this natural nobleman. . . . A recent report of the trustees of the fund shows that the trust has been most ably administered and the property largely increased, so that it is now valued at more than three times the amount of the legacy. The will directed that of the net annual income, after all charges for expenses, repairs, etc., had been met, one half should be distributed to organized public charities, not to individuals, and that the other half should be reserved by the trustees for the increase of the system of buildings. Already over seventeen thousand dollars have been given away by the trustees under the above arrangement, and the prospective increase in the property and its income promises a series of gifts in the future which will many times exceed in the aggregate the original bequest, and preserve the name of Lawrence fresh in the memory of generations of men yet to come."

These houses are situated in East Canton Street, Boston, and the present trustees are Messrs. Abbott Lawrence, J. Ingersoll Bowditch, and William P. Kuhn.

Mr. Lawrence kept up through life a large correspondence with the most eminent men in the United States, and, after his return from England, with some of the most distinguished men of that country. Unfortunately, the great fire in 1872 destroyed nearly all his private papers and correspondence, a loss doubly severe since they were to have been used in preparing a more extended biography of him than is now possible. Of his many speeches, addresses, and letters on the political and financial questions of the day, and on other topics of public concern, the following list comprises all that have been printed in pamphlet form: —

A Letter to a Committee of the Citizens of Boston on the Subject of the Currency, etc., March 25, 1837.

Remarks on the Duty of Congress to continue, by Discriminating and Specific Duties, the Protection of American Labor, at the Convention of Shoe and Leather Dealers held in Boston, March 2, 1842.

Letters on the Tariff, addressed to the Hon. William C. Rives, of Virginia, 1846.

Despatch to the Secretary of State, on the Subject of Cheap Postage ; printed by order of the Senate, August 31, 1852.

Letter from Mr. Lawrence to Mr. Clayton [then Secretary of State] in relation to Central America ; printed by order of the Senate, February 7, 1853.

Correspondence between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain [during the years 1851 and 1852] relating to the Dues now collected in the latter Country from Merchant Shipping for the Support of Lighthouses and Beacons ; printed by order of the Senate, April 5, 1872.

There are several portraits of Mr. Lawrence. The earliest one was painted in 1832, when he was forty years of age, by Chester Harding. He is represented as seated, and with a letter in his hand. It is an admirable likeness and a highly finished picture. It was engraved in 1856 (from a copy by Moses Wight, now belonging to Mr. James Lawrence), by Francis Holl, of London. This picture is now in the possession of Mr. Abbott Lawrence. In 1843 a full-length portrait was painted by G. P. A. Healy, for the Mechanics' Hall in Lowell, where it now hangs. In 1844 Mr. Lawrence sat to Healy for two portraits. One of them has been engraved by Joseph Andrews, and is the likeness by which he is best remembered. He himself preferred this picture to the two painted at an earlier period. It is in the possession of his eldest daughter, Mrs. B. S. Rotch. The other, not so much in profile, is also a good likeness, and belongs to Mr. Prescott Lawrence.

A bust was modelled in 1836 by Hiram Powers, and is

a fine work of art. It is now in the possession of Mr. Abbott Lawrence. There is a head in cameo, taken in 1834 by C. W. Jamison; and another, in 1843, by J. G. King. There is also an excellent daguerreotype, taken in 1854.

Such portraits and semblances, however, at the best, give but an imperfect and shadowy impression of the living presence, — of the form, the movement, the look, and the smile; and any such delineation as has been attempted in these pages fails to represent adequately the unceasing activity, the far-reaching enterprise, the inflexible integrity of character, the genial influence, and the personal inspiration which, to Mr. Lawrence's contemporaries and companions, were a constant occasion for admiration and pride. But the gifts of which we have spoken — to churches, schools, and libraries, the scientific foundation at Cambridge, and the model lodging-houses in Boston — together with the record of his life, will perpetuate the memory of ABBOTT LAWRENCE as no canvas or marble or printed page can do; and they will amply illustrate to succeeding generations the noble record of his success as a merchant, of his virtue as a citizen, of his eminence as a statesman, of his generosity as a philanthropist, and of his excellence as a man.

A year or two after the death of Mr. Lawrence, his nephew, Dr. Samuel Abbott Green, now Mayor of Boston, noticed before a bookseller's shop in the city of Berlin a placard announcing for sale within, a little book entitled "Der Weg zum Glück, oder die Kunst Millionär zu werden," which purported to be an account of his uncle's life and fortunes. Dr. Green went in and asked for the book, which proved to be a tract of twenty-eight pages in 12mo, by one Rudolph Anders, printed at Berlin, 1856. Subsequently Mr. George Ticknor wrote an account of it,

translating a portion, for the "Boston Courier," July 3, 1858; and we think it deserves a place in the present volume.

"It is needless to say," remarks Mr. Ticknor, "that the whole is a mere fiction attached to the name of our distinguished townsman; and we give this notice of it, partly to show in what a reckless manner foreigners invent about us whatever happens to suit their purposes, and partly to show how widely spread was the name and fame of Mr. Lawrence, when it could be relied on to give currency, among the masses of a population like that in Berlin, to the wholesome moral truths this little tract is intended to inculcate. When Lord Byron saw a copy of one of his works printed at Albany, a place probably of which he knew nothing else, he said, 'This is fame.' The fiction attached to Mr. Lawrence's name in the Berlin pamphlet implies fame of another sort, and we think a better.

"The Preface, which is intended to give value and effect to the manuscript it announces, was evidently written by a person who, like most of his readers, knew nothing about Mr. Lawrence except that he had made his own great fortune by the most honorable means, that he was an American statesman of recognized eminence, and that he had represented the United States at the Court of St. James in 1849–1852. The rest is pure fiction; but it is a fiction so curious and whimsical that we translate it entire, — we mean the Preface. It runs thus: —

"'Before we give the following remarkable manuscript to the press, and so publish it to the world, we wish to impart to its readers some information concerning its origin.

"'Abbott Lawrence, the American millionnaire, among whose papers the following document was found after his recent death, had received "The Way to Fortune, or the Art of becoming a Millionnaire" from the dying hands of a rich uncle, who, singularly enough, left him nothing else, but in the absence of nearer relatives bequeathed his immense fortune to charitable institutions; saying to his nephew, as he gave him the manuscript, "Wealth, my dear nephew, I do not leave you, for every man possesses within himself the power to earn it, and, with it, to win honor, fame, and happiness. Independent energy is a noble thing, and I do not wish to cripple it or destroy it in you by

making you heir to my enormous wealth, which, though you have hitherto been upright and honest, you might use so as to make you a bad man. Earn then, as I have done, your own fortune by your own energy, and you will know how to measure rightly the worth of riches, which should be used only to co-operate with God's providence, to supply our own necessities and to assist our fellow-creatures. But in order to afford you the means easier to earn a considerable fortune, and thus more quickly to obtain honor and happiness, and in order to save you from the necessity of growing wise by your own sufferings, I give you here a rich treasury of the experiences which I have gathered from my own life, and which have made me what thousands and millions vainly strive to be, because either they do not know how to choose their means rightly, or, having chosen right, do not know how to apply them. Use then this treasury of my experiences," the uncle continued to the nephew, "use it faithfully, and you will soon, by your own resources, attain to what will be to you for prosperity and blessing, and insure to you happiness on this side the grave and on the other."

"'When the uncle had uttered these last words his spirit passed forever into the great hereafter. The nephew stood some moments lost in thought by the bed of death, and well might he regret the vast fortune which his uncle had possessed, and which should naturally have fallen to him as the next of kin; but he soon recovered himself, took up the manuscript, and began at once the preparations for consigning the mortal remains of his uncle to the earth from which they had been taken. And now, on the evening of the day in which he had performed these last sad rites, as he sat sorrowful in his chamber, he remembered the counsels he had received, and, full of curiosity, opened the manuscript, whose seals he had not till then broken.

"'He read and read; and though its contents did not at once become clear and plain to him, still he perceived that the counsels of his uncle were not without their worth, and that, if truly followed. they would insure his welfare. He therefore resolved to obey them strictly; and how he kept his resolution, and with what results, we learn not only from private sources but from the history of his country. Abbott Lawrence rose gradually, by the force of his own character, from the condition of a poor youth to that of a rich and honored man. From a laborer and farmer in Virginia he became a wealthy manufacturer, an owner of plantations and railroads, of mines and of gold diggings. He was chosen to the House of Representatives. Later he was called to the Senate. From 1849 to 1852 he was ambassador of the American Union in England, and he would undoubtedly have

become President of the United States if he had not beforehand declined the honor. He died in the beginning of this year (1856) in New York, a man of ten millions of dollars, which, like his uncle, he bequeathed to charitable institutions, thus preserving his memory through time and through eternity.

"'We received the following manuscript from a friendly hand. It contains the legacy of his uncle, which was found among his papers, and we think we are doing our fellow-men a service by bringing it to light. As it has never been printed in any language, we have at once translated it into German, and wish our readers to observe that the reckonings are made in German currency.'

"The manuscript which follows fills about twenty-one pages, and consists of very good moral advice, sensible but rather commonplace, arranged under forty-four heads. Its motto is 'Pray and Work,' and the following is a fair specimen of the pithy mode in which it announces its different subjects: —

'Be devout, and fear God without superstition.'
'Be kind to the poor.'
'Be tolerant.'
'Keep a clear conscience.'
'Simplify your wants.'
'Keep your word.'
'Be punctual.'
'Be frugal.'
'Put your savings at interest where they will be safe, and keep working.'
'Never run in debt.'
'Get knowledge and experience wherever they are to be had.'
'Try to be first in your calling.'
'Respect all ranks.'
'Never love to spend.'
'Never lose confidence in yourself.'
'Persevere.'

"Each of the forty-four heads is followed by a short exposition and enforcement of its doctrine, and the whole ends with a short exhortation. No part of it is unworthy the character of Mr. Lawrence, but undoubtedly no part of it was ever seen by him, or, before it was published, by any person who can have known much about him."

APPENDIX.

LETTERS ON THE TARIFF.

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.

NAVIGATION LAWS.
CENTRAL AMERICAN QUESTION.
INTERNATIONAL POSTAGE.
CONDITION OF IRELAND.
CLOSE OF THE MISSION.

APPENDIX.

LETTERS ON THE TARIFF.

I.

MR. LAWRENCE TO MR. RIVES.

[We invite the attention of our readers to the interesting communication of this distinguished citizen, in our columns of to-day. It is a subject which comes home to the "business and bosoms" of us all, — the interests and improvements of our own State. Mr. Lawrence, during his service in Congress, was most advantageously known to the whole Union, by the clear-sighted sagacity and strong practical sense which always distinguished his views of public measures. He is eminently national in his sentiments and feelings, and has ever shown himself a true friend of the South. Suggestions from so liberal and enlightened a source naturally commend themselves to the cordial and respectful attention of Virginians. We shall have great pleasure in laying before our readers the additional communications he gives us reason to expect. — *Richmond Whig.*]

Boston, January 7, 1846.

My dear Sir, — When you were with us last summer I more than half promised to make you a short visit in February, and I have not yet given up entirely the long-anticipated pleasure of doing so. I have not forgotten our conversation on the condition of our country generally, and more particularly the strong desire

manifested by you, to improve the condition of the people of your own State. I have always entertained feelings of high regard for the Ancient Dominion, arising probably from the intimate Revolutionary associations between her and our Old Bay State, as well as from my having looked upon her as the mother of many of the greatest statesmen and purest patriots which our country has produced.

I am not surprised that you of Virginia should desire to do something by which the matchless natural resources of your native State may be developed. I have thought that the State of Virginia, with its temperate climate, variety and excellence of soil, exhaustless water-power, and exuberant mineral wealth, contains within herself more that is valuable for the uses of mankind, in these modern days, than any other State in our Union.

I need not say to you that these gifts of Providence are of little consequence to your people, or to our common country, unless developed and improved for the purposes for which they were intended. When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, Virginia contained double the population of New York; and now New York contains double the number of people in Virginia. I do not propose to inquire into the causes that have produced such a mighty change in the relative numerical condition of these two States. I do propose, however, to state to you some of the reasons why you should *now* set about doing something to bring back that prosperity, which many of your people believe is forever lost.

The truth is that nature has been profuse in her gifts in behalf of your people, and you have done but little for yourselves. The settlement and development of the resources of the Western country have brought into existence an active and effectual competition with your people in the great staples of your agricultural products — namely, wheat, Indian corn, and tobacco. Maryland and North Carolina, like yourselves, are essentially affected by competition from the same quarter, — from Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa. The great West is now supplying largely the New England and other States, which are consumers of these agricultural staples, in quantity and value, to a greater extent than all the foreign world besides. The internal improvements of the country already

finished have brought Boston, by steam, within the distance of four days' travel of Cincinnati by way of Buffalo; and a contemplated railroad from Burlington, Vermont, to Ogdensburg, New York, will bring us practically yet nearer to those fertile regions of the West. The expense of transportation is essentially reduced wherever railroads or canals have been constructed, and even the Mississippi herself bears down upon her bosom the products of the West at less than half the freight that was charged a few years ago.

Thirty years since, a few small schooners were sufficient to carry on the commerce between this city and New Orleans; now, within the last year, we have had one hundred and sixty-five arrivals from New Orleans at this port, and many of the vessels are of the largest class — ships from five hundred to seven hundred tons burden. They have brought us tobacco, Indian corn, flour, cotton, beef, pork, lard, lead, etc., amounting in the aggregate to many millions of dollars. Of the first three of these articles, which now come to us in such quantities from New Orleans, our importations, in former times, were almost exclusively from Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland. Can you expect to compete successfully with the Western regions of our country, where, without much labor, the soil produces double, and sometimes even more, to the acre, than the average crops of the last mentioned States? This competition will increase; and it appears to me that the remedy for its inauspicious effects upon your welfare, is to create a market at home for your surplus agricultural products, by establishing such manufactures as may be adapted to the peculiar condition of your labor. There are two classes of labor, — intelligent and unintelligent; the former is that kind of labor which requires a considerable amount of mental culture, with active physical power. This combination is capable of applying science to art, and of producing results that are difficult and oftentimes complicated. The latter description of labor is of that character which depends principally on physical strength. This quality of labor you have in abundance: and I hope you are not without a tolerable supply of the higher class. You may, without doubt, commence the manufacture of almost every description of articles requiring but little skill, and prosecute the work with success. Manufactures of such articles as iron, hemp, wool, cotton, leather, etc., wrought into the coarser and more common

articles, would succeed with you. You will find, very soon after a regular system of the division of labor shall have been introduced, that a desire for knowledge will be created; more education, more intellectual cultivation will be desired by those engaged in the mechanical departments; and, with this eagerness for knowledge, will follow skill and cleverness in the use of tools; and then will follow the inventive power, for which our people have become so distinguished in the estimation of the world.

You cannot do anything in Virginia that will so completely promote the introduction of railroads, as the placing of manufacturing establishments on your beautiful waterfalls. The water-power on the James River at Richmond is unrivalled; and it seems a great waste of natural wealth to permit it to run into the sea, having hardly touched a water-wheel. If the prominent men of Virginia, of both political parties, will give up their party warfare, and resolve themselves into a "Committee of the whole on the Commonwealth, to improve the state of agriculture," by making two blades of grass grow where there is now but one, — if they will establish manufactures, and carry on a well-adjusted system of internal improvements, they will then have done something that will be substantial, abiding, — which will stand as a memorial of their patriotic devotion to the interests of the people through all time. Let your common-school system go hand in hand with the employment of your people; you may be quite certain that the adoption of these systems at once will aid each other.

You cannot, I should suppose, expect to develop your resources without a general system of popular education; it is the lever to all permanent improvement. It appears to me essential to the preservation of our republican institutions that the people of this country should be educated, and that all intellectual culture should be founded upon our holy religion; the pure precepts of the Gospel are the only safe source from which we can freely draw our morality. It is essential that we should have an educated population; inasmuch as every man can exercise the right of suffrage, the elective franchise, in the hands of an ignorant and debased population, would very soon place our country in a state of anarchy. We should strive to elevate the laboring and less-favored classes. In Europe the great body of the people have nothing to do with the election of their rulers; even in England, free as she is compared with many of the Continental states, the

mass of the people do not exercise the elective franchise. This is a point of primary importance, and your people may rest assured that taxes for education, even as a matter of pecuniary gain, would greatly enhance the value of their property. I am, therefore, clear in my convictions, not only of the duty, but the expediency, of introducing manufactures extensively into your State, with an expansive system of popular education; and from these movements will soon be seen the happiest results, in a healthful prosperity and a striking improvement in the condition of the people.

Just for a moment imagine the whole supernumerary population of Virginia employed at a rate of wages such as are paid in the Northern and Eastern States: what think you would be the effect? I have not a doubt that the value of land would increase within five miles around each manufacturing village, equal to the cost of all the machinery in it. The sphere of labor must be enlarged, diversified, if you would bring out the energies of your people. I yet hope to see Virginia take that place among the old Thirteen that seemed by Providence to be assigned to her; it can only be achieved by energy and perseverance on the part of those who have the destinies of their fellow-citizens in keeping. Let the law-makers, and those who administer the laws, not only speak out, but so act as to give an impetus to labor; let it be considered respectable for every man to have a vocation, and to follow it. If not for his own pecuniary profit, let him labor for character, which he is certain to obtain if his labors benefit others. I intended to make some remarks on the recommendation of the President in his Annual Message, and the report of the honorable Secretary of the Treasury, to change our whole revenue system. The plan proposed, if carried out, has an important bearing on the subject of this letter, which is, however, already sufficiently long.

Reserving, therefore, my remarks upon the last-mentioned topics for another communication,

I remain very faithfully,

Your friend and ob't servant,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

To the Hon. W. C. RIVES,
Castle Hill, Albemarle County, Virginia.

II.

MR. LAWRENCE TO MR. RIVES.

[We cheerfully give up our own space to-day to a second letter from the Hon. Abbott Lawrence, and feel sure that our readers will thank us for the substitution. We have taken but a mere glance at this document, but think we may safely say it is a powerful and impressive paper, throwing much light upon subjects of particular interest to Virginia, and, indeed, to the whole country. — *Richmond Whig.*]

Boston, January 16, 1846.

My dear Sir: — I stated, in my letter of the 7th, that I should write to you again, upon the subject of the entire change proposed, by the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury, in our revenue laws. It is no other than the adoption of *ad valorem* for specific duties, and a reduction of the whole to 20 per cent; this being the maximum at which the Secretary supposes the largest revenue can be obtained. I shall not now discuss the rates of duty that will produce the greatest amount of revenue, — I will leave the Secretary to settle that question, — but shall endeavor to show what the effect will be upon the country if his recommendation should be adopted by Congress. I deem the scheme proposed to Congress in the main a *currency* question, and one which, if carried out, will reach in its operation the occupation and business of every man in the United States. I believe the most economical member of Congress will agree that thirty millions of dollars will be required annually to carry on this government for the next five years, and that this estimate does not include large sums that may be wanted to settle our affairs with Mexico, Texas, etc., etc., and that this sum is to be raised from foreign importations and the public lands. The goods subject to duty imported, the last year, amounted in round numbers to $90,000,000, and the goods free of duty to about $25,000,000. I have not the returns at hand, and may not be exactly correct as to amounts, but they are near enough to illustrate my arguments. The former paid an average of about 32 per cent, creating a revenue say of $28,000,000. If the revenue derived from an impor-

tation of $90,000,000 gave $28,000,000, what amount must be imported to produce the same sum at 20 per cent *ad valorem?*

The answer is $140,000,000 ; add to this the free goods, about $25,000,000, and we have an importation of $165,000,000. Our exports have not exceeded, nor are they likely at present to exceed, $120,000,000. We then have a deficit of $45,000,000 to provide for, and how is this balance to be paid ? State stocks are no longer current in Europe. Even the stocks of the United States cannot be negotiated on favorable terms.

We who are merchants can answer this question, having often been obliged to make our remittances in coin when our imports have exceeded our exports.

If we are obliged to import $140,000,000 worth of goods subject to duty to meet the wants of the government, it is quite certain that the coin must be exported to meet the deficiency. If the importations fall short of $140,000,000, we then have an empty treasury. In one case, the country will be made bankrupt to fill the treasury ; and in the other, the treasury will be bankrupt, and resort to Congress for treasury-notes and loans. It may be said that our exports will increase with our imports. This supposition I think fallacious. The policy of Great Britain, and that of all Europe, has been, and is likely to continue, to protect everything produced either at home or in their colonies. In Great Britain the article of cotton is now admitted free, the duty having been repealed the very last year. This was owing to repeated representations of the Manchester spinners to Parliament as to the necessity of such a measure, in consequence of the competition from foreign countries in the coarse fabrics manufactured from cotton produced in, and shipped from, the United States. The argument presented in the House of Commons was that the Americans had taken possession of every market where they were admitted on the same terms with their coarse goods. This is a true representation, and I apprehend the repeal of the duty on cotton will not enable the British manufacturer to again obtain possession of those markets for the heavy descriptions of cotton fabrics.

What other article of importance does the government of Great Britain admit free of duty ? I know of none. Cotton is admitted free of duty from necessity. How is it with tobacco ? A duty is paid of 1,200 per cent. Wheat is prohibited by the " Sliding

Scale;" and in case of a total repeal of the Corn Laws, very little wheat would be shipped from this country, inasmuch as it can be laid down, in ordinary years of harvest, much cheaper from the Baltic. Beef and pork are burdened with a heavy duty. The duty and charges on a barrel of American pork laid down in Liverpool, with the commissions for sales, amount to $5.75; so that the quantity of this article shipped to England must be inconsiderable, unless the prices here should be so low as to be ruinous to the farmer. I cannot find, in the catalogue of our strictly agricultural products, a single article that is not burdened with a high duty in England, or other parts of Europe, if it comes in competition with their own products; nor can I discover that there is a disposition on the part of a single European nation to relax the stringent system of duties on imports from this country. It is possible that Great Britain may abate her Corn Laws, so far as to admit Indian corn at a nominal duty. If it should be done, I have little faith in our being able to ship it to advantage. I state the fact, then, that exports will not increase in consequence of a reduction, or even a total repeal, of the present tariff. The duty in Great Britain on all the products of the United States received in that kingdom, including cotton, is not less than 48 per cent, and exclusive of cotton, 300 per cent, — and this, too, on raw produce generally, where the charge of freight constitutes from one tenth to one quarter of the cost here; and this is Free Trade!

I hope you of Virginia will examine this matter, and ask yourselves where the best customers are to be found for your agricultural products. I will just state to you here, that Massachusetts takes annually more flour, Indian corn, pork, and many other articles, — the productions of the West, as well as of Virginia, — than all Europe.

The question then arises, What will be our condition after the proposed plan of low duties goes into operation? In twenty days after the bill becomes a law it will have reached every country in Europe with which we have trade: the manufactories are all set in motion for the supply of the American market; the merchandise is shipped on account of foreigners, — in many cases with double invoices, one set, for the Custom House, and another for the *sales*, so that instead of the duty amounting to 20 per cent, it will not probably exceed 15 per cent. This has been

the experience of the American importers in New York, who, previously to the passage of the Tariff of 1842, had (most of them) abandoned the business, not being able to compete successfully with fraudulent foreigners. I will not say that all foreigners commit frauds on the revenue, — far from it, — but I do say that enormous frauds have been perpetrated by foreigners on the revenue, under *ad valorem* duties, and will be again, prostrating the business of honest foreign and American importers. In less than twelve months after the new plan shall have been in operation, this whole country will be literally surfeited with foreign merchandise. If it be not so, the revenue will fall short of the wants of the government. We shall then owe a debt abroad of millions of dollars, which must be paid in coin. The exchanges go up to a point that makes it profitable to ship specie; money becomes scarce in the Atlantic cities, yet bills on England and France do not fall; the loans made to the South and West are called in; demands for debts due from those sections of country are made; exchange cannot be obtained; produce is purchased and shipped, and when it arrives at the North it will not command the cost in the West. A paralysis will have struck the business of the country; produce will no longer answer to pay debts due at the North; and the next resort is to coin, which is to be collected and sent down the Mississippi, or over the mountains to Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Western and Southern credits are cut off, as the people of those sections can no longer promptly meet their engagements.

The new States, and the outer circle of the Republic, are the weak points; and the first giving way of the banks is heard from those places where there is the least amount of capital. We see the storm approaching like a thunder shower in a summer's day; we watch its progress, but cannot escape its fall. It at last reaches the great marts of trade and the exchanges, having swept everything in its course; and the banks of the Atlantic cities, after a violent effort to maintain their credit and honor, are forced to yield to this Utopian experiment on the currency. I have no hesitation in stating that all this will take place within the space of eighteen months from the time this experimental bill goes into operation; and not a specie-paying bank, doing business, will be found in the United States. Where will be the revenue which was to produce such a mighty sum under low

duties? Where are the Treasury and the Secretary, and the President and his cabinet? The treasury is empty; the Secretary is making his estimates of income for 1849, and preparing to ask Congress for a large batch of treasury-notes; or perhaps the deficit is so large that a loan may be required. We have now come to a point of depression, in the great business of the country, which has attracted the attention and anxiety of all classes of people, all having felt its blight, excepting the great capitalists and money-holders, who are reaping golden harvests by the purchase of property which the wants of the unfortunate throw into the market at ruinous rates. It is now seen and felt — from the low wages of labor and the great number of persons unemployed, with the cries of distress from all quarters — that it is the labor and not the capital of the country that suffers by violent revulsions caused by unwise legislation. Have the people of the South and West forgotten their troubles from 1837 to 1842, — to the hour of the passage of that law which has redeemed the credit of the government and restored prosperity to the country? I have intimated that there is less capital in the new States than in many of the old ones; it will not be denied that the moneyed capital of this country is held in the Northern and Eastern States, and that the South and West are usually largely indebted to them. Now I should be glad to be informed what benefit is to be derived by a planter in Alabama or Mississippi, or a farmer in Ohio or Illinois, by a change like that I have described, particularly if by chance he should be in debt? Do the people of the South believe they can raise the price of cotton, or be able to negotiate loans to prosecute the construction of their contemplated railroads? Do Ohio, Louisiana, Illinois, Michigan, believe they are to create a better market for their produce, or sooner complete the harbors so much desired on the shores of those "inland seas," and be able to negotiate loans, and obtain subscribers to the stock of their intended railroads, by the adoption of this new system of political economy? And now what say the great States of New York and Pennsylvania to this proposed experiment? Can they afford to try it, and are they ready? If they are, it will be adopted; if they are not, the present law will stand, and the country will repose for a while in happiness and prosperity. Any one would suppose that those States that are now just emerging from embarrassment which at one time seemed almost

sufficient to overwhelm them in ruin, would be unwilling to try an experiment which is certain, in my judgment, to place them in a position that will be the means of destroying the fair prospects of thousands who are resting in quiet security upon the faith of what they deem a paternal and wise government. The question of an important alteration in our revenue laws should not be kept in suspense. The treasury will feel its effects before the end of the present year. The expectation of a great reduction of duties prevents the merchants from going on with their usual business. Voyages are delayed, and orders for goods are held back, until this important question shall be settled. I say, therefore, if we are to go through this fiery ordeal, let it come at once; we cannot probably place ourselves in a better condition than we are now, to meet the troubles that await us.

Mr. Walker proposes to substitute *ad valorem* for specific duties, — in opposition to our own experience, and that of almost every other country. I have never yet found an American merchant who has not been in favor of specific duties, wherever they can be laid with convenience to the importer and the government. I confess it is a bold measure to propose a total and entire change of a revenue system which was established with the government, and has stood the test of experience through all the trials of political parties and administrations, from General Washington to Mr. Polk. It appears more extraordinary at this time, as the country is in a high state of prosperity. The revenue is enough for all the reasonable wants of the government, and the people appear to be satisfied with their condition. The resources of the country were never developing more rapidly; the increase of our population the present year will probably equal that of the last, which I estimate as 600,000 souls; our wealth, too, has been wonderfully augmented by the construction of railroads; there has been a great increase of our shipping, engaged in the domestic commerce of the country, not only by sea, but upon our rivers and great lakes: the manufacturing interest has been largely extended; and the soil, too, has been made to produce vastly more than at any former period. The whole productive power of the country has been greater in three years (that is, since the passage of the Tariff of 1842) than during any equal space of time in our national history. There have been three periods of universal distress throughout our land since the

peace of 1783, and in each case under low duties. I appeal to those who remember those periods; and others, I refer to the annals of our country. Those periods were from 1783 (the conclusion of the Revolutionary War) to 1789, from 1815 to 1824, from 1837 to 1842.

I would respectfully recommend to the Secretary of the Treasury, who appears to have received new light upon the subject of our national economy, to examine the history of the legislation of Congress at the above periods. He will find, in his own department of the government, abundant evidence of the distress that existed under low duties and a deranged currency.

There is a prevalent idea abroad that the capital of the country will suffer exceedingly by a revulsion in its business, and that the tariff of 1842 has operated in favor of the capital and not the labor of the country. There can be no doubt that capital is generally profitably and safely employed, and well paid. The profits of capital are low when wages are low; but capital has usually had the power to take care of itself, and does not require the aid of Congress to place it in any other position than to put the labor in motion. Congress should legislate for the labor, and the capital will take care of itself.

I will give you an example of the rate of wages under low duties, and under the tariff of 1842. In 1841 and 1842 the depression in all kinds of business became so oppressive that many of the manufacturing establishments in New England were closed, the operatives were dismissed, the mechanical trades were still, and every resource for the laboring man seemed dried up. In the city of Lowell, where there are more than thirty large cotton mills, with from six to sixteen thousand spindles each, it was gravely considered by the proprietors whether the mills should be stopped. It was concluded to reduce the wages. This was done several times, until the reduction brought down the wages from about $2.00 to $1.50 a week, exclusive of board; this operation affected between seven and eight thousand females. The mills ran on; no sales were made of the goods; the South and West had neither money nor credit; and finally it was determined to hold out until Congress should act upon the tariff. The bill passed, and of course the mills were kept running, which would not have been the case if the act had been rejected, and now the average wages paid at Lowell — taking the same number

of females for the same service — is $2.00 a week, exclusive of board. Yet Mr. Walker says labor has fallen. Where, I ask, are the wages for labor lower than they were in 1842? Who is to be benefited by the adoption of a system that gives up everything, and gives no reasonable promise of anything?

I have succeeded, I trust, in showing that there is no probability of our exports increasing in consequence of a reduction of the tariff, and that the products of the Western States find the best market among the manufacturers at home. In regard to the Southern and cotton-growing States, they are to be greatly benefited by the increase of consumption of their staple at home. No appreciable quantity can be shipped to England, if the tariff should be repealed, it being already free of duty. The establishment and successful prosecution of the spinning of cotton in this country has enabled the planters to obtain, for several years past at least, an additional cent a pound on the whole crop, and perhaps even more. The Americans are the greatest spinners of cotton in the world, the British excepted. This competition has kept the price from falling to a ruinous point on several occasions, and it has been acknowledged by many of the most intelligent planters in the South. Our consumption reached, the last year, one hundred and seventy-six millions of pounds, which is equal to the whole crop of the Union in 1825, and equal to the whole consumption of Great Britain in 1826. This is a striking fact, and one that should be remembered by the planters. The history of the production and manufacture of cotton is so extraordinary, that I propose to send to you some statistics on the subject furnished me by a friend. I hope you will not deem me over sanguine when I tell you that it is my belief that the consumption of cotton in this country will double in eight or nine years, and that it will reach four hundred millions of pounds in 1856; and, further, that we are not only destined to be the greatest cotton growers, but the most extensive cotton spinners in the world. We have all the elements among ourselves to make us so. The manufacture of cotton is probably in its infancy; but a moderate portion of mankind have yet been clothed with this healthful and cheap article. Nothing can stop the progress of this manufacture but some suicidal legislation, that will prostrate the currency of the country, and deprive the people of the power of consumption. There can be no legislation that will break down

the manufacture of cotton and wool, excepting through the operation of the currency. We may be disturbed by low duties. The finer descriptions of cotton and woollens, printed goods and worsted fabrics, would be seriously affected by low *ad valorem* duties; but the coarser fabrics, such as are generally consumed by the great body of the people, will be made here under any and all circumstances. If we have competition from abroad, the labor must and will come down. This has been often tested, and our experience establishes the fact.

In Virginia and other Southern States, and even at the West, many persons have believed that the protective system was made by and for New England, and that New England, and particularly Massachusetts, could not thrive without it. Now this is an error. The South and the West began the system of high protective duties for the purpose of creating a market for their products; although the principle of discrimination was recognized and established when the first tariff was enacted. It is not true that we are more dependent on a protective tariff than the Middle, Western, or Southern States. Those States that possess the smallest amount of capital are the most benefited by a protective tariff. We have in New England a great productive power, — in Massachusetts, far greater than any other State, in proportion to population. We have a hardy, industrious, and highly intelligent population, with a perseverance that seldom tires; and we have also acquired a considerable amount of skill, which is increasing every day. Besides this, we have already accomplished a magnificent system of intercommunication between all parts of this section of the country by railroads. This is the best kind of protective power, having reduced the rate of carriage to a wonderful extent. This being done, we have money enough remaining to keep all our labor employed, and prosecute our foreign and domestic commerce, without being in debt beyond the limits of our own State. Now, I ask how *we* shall stand compared with Pennsylvania, Ohio, Alabama, Georgia, or Louisiana, when the day of financial trial shall come. I do not deny that we shall suffer; but, as it has been in times past, we shall go into and come out of the troubles far stronger than any other State out of New England. It is not my purpose to present to you the balance-sheet of Massachusetts, but it is due to her character and her dignity that she should stand before you in her true position. I have never

advocated a protective tariff for my own State or for New England exclusively; nor have those gentlemen with whom I have been associated in this cause at any time entertained a narrow or sectional view of the question. We have believed it to be for the interest of the whole country that its labor should be protected; and, so far as I have had to do with the adjustment of those difficult combinations embraced in a tariff bill, I have endeavored to take care that the interests of all the States were protected, whether they were large or small. I say now to you, and it should be said in Congress and to the country, that Massachusetts asks no exclusive legislation. If Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio, the three great States, with Kentucky, Georgia, Missouri, Alabama, and Louisiana, wish to try an experiment on iron, coal, hemp, cotton bagging, sugar, etc., I am ready, as one citizen of Massachusetts, to meet it, and await in patient submission the result, which I doubt not will be found, within eighteen months, in the realization of all I have predicted. I say again, I would not, if I could, have a tariff made for Massachusetts alone. If, however, there should be a new one, let our interests, with those of every other State in the Union, share that protection to which we are all entitled, and of which we claim our full share. I can with confidence assure you that we shall go upward and onward. We will work. If twelve hours' labor in the twenty-four will not sustain us, we can and will work fourteen; and at the same time feel that Congress cannot take the sinews from our arms, or rob us of the intelligence acquired from our public schools, established by the foresight and wisdom of our fathers.

At the risk of writing a long letter, I cannot forbear alluding to the fact that the habitual agitation of this question of the tariff has worked in the main to the advantage of New England. We were, previous to the War of 1812, an agricultural and navigating people. The American system was forced upon us, and was adopted for the purpose of creating a home market for the products of the soil of the South and West. We resisted the adoption of a system which we honestly believed would greatly injure our navigation, and drive us from our accustomed employments into a business we did not understand. We came into it, however, reluctantly, and soon learned that, with the transfer of our capital, we acquired skill and knowledge in the use of it; and that, so far from our foreign commerce being diminished, it was

increased, and that our domestic tonnage and commerce were very soon more than quadrupled. The illustrations were so striking in every department of labor, that those who fifteen years ago were the strongest opponents of the protective tariff among us have given up their theories, and acknowledged that the revelations are such as to satisfy the most sceptical. We have gone forward steadily, till many descriptions of manufactures are as well settled in New England as the raising of potatoes. Our experience has given us skill; and, of course, we have confidence in our own resources that does not exist elsewhere.

When I converse with gentlemen from the South and West respecting the establishment of manufactures, they reply that they should long ago have engaged in them, but the repeal of the tariff — the action of the government — prevented them. Now, you cannot blame us if this constant agitation of the tariff question has tended to give New England, not a monopoly, but advantages which she has not been instrumental in bringing about. I have no doubt we have been gainers, on the whole, by these agitations; yet we have at times been great sufferers. I wish those States that have withheld their energies from entering upon these industrial pursuits, to examine this matter, and, if I am right, to take an observation and a new departure. We have no jealousy whatever concerning the establishment of manufactories in all parts of the country. On the contrary, I believe those gentlemen from the South and West who have been here will bear witness to the desire on the part of the people who are engaged in manufactures to impart all the information in their power. There is room for us all.

When the Southern and Western States shall manufacture their own clothing, we shall have become extensive exporters of the variety of manufactures produced here. We have the ships, and the men to navigate them. We shall pursue an extensive foreign commerce with manufactures, and bring home the products of other countries, such as coffee, tea, etc., and pay for the produce of the South and West with foreign luxuries and necessaries of life. It has often been said here by us, who advocated protection to American labor, that in wearing British cottons, woollens, etc., we were consuming British wheat, beef, pork, etc. I am happy to find authority of the highest respectability for this opinion, in the person of one of the most eminent merchants, as well as one of

the best and most honorable men, in England. — Mr. William Brown of Liverpool, lately the free-trade candidate for Parliament for the county of Lancashire. In a letter to John Rolfe, Esq., a landholder, upon the advantages of free trade, he says: "You next allude to the League wishing to injure you. I presume it will not be denied that all interests in the kingdom are so linked together that none of them can suffer without the others being injured. We must sink or swim together. Paradoxical as it may appear, I think Great Britain is the largest *grain-exporting* country in the world, although it is impossible to estimate accurately what quantity of grain, etc., is consumed in preparing £50,000,000 value of exports, by which you are so greatly benefited. It is placed in the laboratory of that wonderful intellectual machine, man, which gives him the physical power, aided by steam, of converting it into broadcloth, calico, hardware, etc.; and in these shapes your wheats find their way to every country in the world."

I thank Mr. Brown for the clear statement he has presented of the importance of a home market, and commend this extract from his letter to the consideration of every farmer in the United States. It is perfectly sound, and applies with particular force to our present condition. To place the people in a condition of permanent and solid prosperity, we must encourage home industry by obtaining the greatest amount of production. This can only be obtained by diversifying labor, which will bring with it high wages; and unless the labor is well paid, our country cannot prosper. Agriculture, the foundation of all wealth, depends on production, and a market for its products. The encouragement of agriculture is found in the establishment of manufactures, which, if maintained, will be certain to secure a market.

I ask the farmer to look for a moment at the following statement. American flour in Cuba pays a duty of about $10 a barrel; in Rio Janeiro, $5 to $6; and in many other ports the duties vary from 50 to 150 per cent. In return we take coffee, most of which we pay for in coin, *free of duty*. And this is free trade. We have, too, treaties of reciprocity with foreign countries; and among others, Great Britain (not including her colonies), by which her ships are admitted into our ports on the same terms as our own. They come freighted with her minerals

and manufactures, which are sold here; and take in return a variety of articles, the produce of the United States, — such as timber, lumber, fish, etc., — touch at New Brunswick or some other colony, and go home free of duty. We have, too, triangular voyages, made from England to Jamaica, and other British Islands, with cargoes; and thence to the Southern States, where they load with cotton, tobacco, and other produce, for England. This, too, is called free trade. I will not pursue this branch of the subject, but give you a fact. Not long since the foreign carrying trade was nearly all in our own hands; now the reciprocity system, not including the colonies of foreign nations, gives to foreigners more than one third of all the carrying trade of the United States! I cannot believe the time is far distant when the Government of the United States will protect as it ought the foreign navigating interest of this great country. If we would have American seamen to man our navy, the mercantile marine must be protected in the carrying of our own productions.

One more fact, and I will close these long and, I fear you will think, desultory remarks. Some years since, a few bales of American coarse cottons were sent from this country to Hindostan as a commercial experiment. The superiority of the fabric, and the material of which it was made, gradually brought the goods into notice and use in that country, and the annual exportation from the United States increased from a few bales up to three and four thousand per annum. The British manufacturers were much annoyed at this interference; and it is presumed that it was through their influence that the East India Company (the government of that country) have repeatedly augmented the discriminating duty on these goods (which are called drillings) for the purpose of protecting their own manufactures against those of the United States. Prior to 1836 the duty was five per cent in favor of British goods. In that year it was increased to eight and a half per cent; a few years after, augmented to ten and a half per cent; and even this rate of differential duty proved insufficient to keep out the Americans, who drove a profitable trade, notwithstanding the great difference against them. And now, within a few months, the East India Company have been compelled again to increase the discriminating duty to fifteen per cent in order to exclude our goods alto-

gether; and this difference will, without doubt, accomplish the object.

These facts are deserving of a passing remark, as illustrative of the energies and resources of the United States. As late as the beginning of the last war, in 1812, this country imported almost all its coarse cotton fabrics from Hindostan, whence they came literally by ship-loads, and were paid for almost altogether in coin. No country seemed to be more abundant in means necessary to supply such goods cheaply than Hindostan. Its soil furnished an abundance of cotton, which, though not of equal quality to that of the United States, was much less in price, and labor was cheaper than in any country in the world. Cotton-spinning machinery was available through the medium of British capital, and the manufactures received a protection of ten and a half per cent against foreign interference. No country seemed more secure from foreign competition in these goods than Hindostan; and least of all was there fear of competition from the United States, — a country fifteen thousand miles distant, where a day's labor will earn about twenty-five pounds of good rice, whilst in Hindostan it obtains less than ten pounds of very inferior rice. But the American planter furnished better raw cotton; the manufacturer, a better and cheaper fabric; the ship-owner, a speedy and cheaper conveyance. Their united efforts drove the British manufacturer of these coarse goods from the largest British colonial market, — a market which the Americans would now be in possession of but for the interposition of the East India Company with another protective duty to sustain their manufactories. I have no fault to find with the course pursued by the British in these regulations. I have introduced these facts to exhibit to you the transcendent folly of attempting a system of low duties and free trade where it is all on one side. I have not yet known the British government to reduce the duties to a point that has reached a single important interest. Their free trade and low duties never apply to any article that seriously competes with their own labor, nor are they likely to adopt such measures. The free trade of the political economists of Great Britain is a transcendental philosophy, which is not likely to be adopted by any government on the face of the globe, unless it be the Chinese; and we have already the earnest of the effect of low duties on the internal condition of that country. The trade of

that empire is fast approaching to barter, the precious metals having been drained to pay for the foreign products introduced into it.

I am aware that I have written a long letter, but I could not well abridge it consistently with glancing at many topics in which I take a deep interest. The subject is boundless, and I would cheerfully carry out, by illustrations and examples, many points upon which I have touched; but I forbear for the present. When I have the pleasure to meet you we can discuss all these questions, embracing not only the present condition but the future prospects and destiny of our beloved country, for which I entertain the strongest attachment. Our strength and glory is in upholding and maintaining the Union.[1]

I shall send in a few days statistics furnished me by a friend, who is intelligent, careful and accurate in these matters, and who holds himself responsible for all that will be stated.

I pray you, my dear sir, to accept the assurances with which I remain, most faithfully, your friend and obedient servant,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

To the Hon. WILLIAM C. RIVES,
Castle Hill, Albemarle County, Virginia.

[1] Mr. Webster wrote to Mr. Lawrence from Washington, on the 25th February, 1846: "Your letters to Mr. Rives have a very great circulation, as you are aware, and are highly praised by intelligent men. The second of them will form the substratum of what I propose to say (if I say anything) on the tariff subject."—H. A. H.

III.

MR. LAWRENCE TO MR. RIVES.

Boston, February 23, 1846.

My dear Sir, — When I wrote to you on the 16th of last month, I proposed to present in another letter some facts in regard to the progress of the spinning of cotton, since the first high protective tariff in 1816, to the cotton year ending 31st of August, 1845.

These facts I shall offer for the special consideration of those who inhabit the cotton-growing region of our country, and of those who brought forward and carried that law through Congress.

The tariff law of 1816 was founded in wisdom; and I am ready here to make my acknowledgments to those distinguished statesmen of the cotton-growing States, who successfully consummated an act that has done so much to promote the prosperity of the whole Union.

The primary object on the part of those members of Congress representing the cotton-planting States, in establishing a high protective tariff, was to extend the consumption of their great staple in this country, by excluding foreign-made cotton fabrics, and substituting a domestic article, manufactured from American cotton. I think the authors of the tariff law of 1816 may congratulate themselves and their countrymen on the complete success that has followed from the adoption of the minimum of twenty-five cents the square yard, contained in that bill. Under its beneficial operation we have been enabled to supply our own population with cottons of the coarse and middling qualities, and to export to foreign countries to the amount of four or five millions of dollars annually, for which we receive in payment, tea, coffee, sugar, hides, copper, etc. These goods, the product of our own labor, have become a substitute for coin in the several countries to which they are shipped.

It would seem that the founders of this system of high protection to labor ought to be satisfied with its results, as the quantity of cotton now spun in the United States is far greater than the most sanguine of its friends anticipated in 1816. According to a statement made up by Mr. Patrick T. Jackson and Mr. John A. Lowell, for the use of the tariff convention held in New York in 1832, the home consumption of cotton, prior to the passage of the act of 1816, was eleven millions of pounds, being about three-eighths of the quantity now spun at Lowell.

The quantity spun in Great Britain in 1816 was eighty-eight millions of pounds. There are no data to be relied upon for continuous returns of home consumption between 1816 and 1825–1826.

In 1826–1827, the returns were made in a New York price-current, and they have since been continued, and are deemed to be as correct as the nature of the case will admit.

In 1826–1827 the amount spun in the United States was 103,483 bales, which we may estimate at 330 pounds each, (net of tare) equal to 34,149,390 pounds.

In the same year the quantity spun in Great Britain was 197,200,000 pounds. From 1828 to 1830 was a period of embarrassment and distress among manufacturers; consequently the consumption of 1829–1830 was only 126,512 bales, of about 345 pounds each, amounting to 43,646,640 pounds, while the consumption in Great Britain was 247,600,000 pounds. At this period some of our Southern friends, who had been foremost in advocating home manufactures, and had counted largely on the benefits anticipated by them in 1816, from the operation of the protective policy (as greatly augmenting the consumption of their staple), began to manifest dissatisfaction with what they considered the slow progress of our cotton manufactures. The idea entertained and put forth was that we should never require so much as to bear any considerable proportion to the consumption of Great Britain. This, as will be shown, was a false view of the case, and has proved a capital error.

In 1832–1833 the quantity spun at home reached 194,412 bales, averaging perhaps 360 pounds each; in 1835–1836, 236,733 bales; in 1837–1838, 246,063 bales; in 1839–1840, 295,193 bales. In 1841–1842 there was deep commercial and manufacturing distress, and the consumption receded to 267,850

bales. In the latter part of the year 1842 and in 1843, after the present tariff law went into operation, a revival of business throughout the country took place, and brought up the amount spun to 325,129 bales.

In 1844–1845 (the year ended 31st August last) the amount spun was 389,006 bales. There is a quantity of cotton consumed in the interior of the States, — which, never having reached the seaports, is not included in the New York statement, — that has been estimated to be at least 41,000 bales. We shall therefore estimate the total quantity at 430,000 bales of 410 pounds each, net, making a total of 176,300,000 pounds as the consumption last year, against 11,000,000 pounds in 1816, being a period of twenty-nine years.

The consumption in Great Britain has gone on steadily increasing, but not in so rapid a ratio as in the United States. The returns for 1845 have been received.[1] and amount to 560,000,000 pounds, against 176,300,000 pounds in the United States. Thus the increase in the United States, from 1816 to 1845, has extended from 11,000,000 to 176,300,000 pounds in twenty-nine years, being an augmentation of sixteen-fold. The increase in Great Britain, in the same period of time, has been from 88,700,000 pounds to 560,000,000 pounds, being an augmentation of less than seven-fold, against an increase in the United States of sixteen-fold.

These are not only striking, but important facts, and present a view of the case which refutes the anticipations of those who entertained different opinions of the future increase of the spinning of cotton in this country, fifteen years ago. I cannot but hope that the views and opinions of some of the prominent men of the South may undergo a change when they examine this question dispassionately, and that they will come to the conclusion that they are deeply interested in the spinning, as well as in the producing, of cotton, at home. As regards the future, if the general peace of the world be maintained, and the leading business

[1] Quantity of yarns spun in Great Britain in 1845, 494,000,000 pounds:

Exported in yarns,	134,500,000 lbs.,	valued at 12d. (24 cts.),	$32,280,000
Exported in manufactures,	202,360,000 "	" " 18½d. (36¾ cts.),	73,000,000
Consumed at home,	158,000,000 "	" " 40 cts.,	63,200,000
Total	494,860,000 "		
Whole value of cotton manufactured in England, ...			$168,480,000

concerns of the country are not disturbed by the legislative action of the Federal government, there is no reason why the increased home demand for cotton should not go on in as rapid a ratio as during the past. This would be doubling the present consumption in a little more than eight years.

There are now an immense number of spindles under construction in a majority of the States, (probably not less than 500,000), all of which are intended to be in operation before the 1st of January, 1850, and the probability is, that at that time the quantity of cotton spun will reach 650,000 bales of 410 pounds each, or 266,500,000 pounds. There will also be a great increase in Great Britain, but not in the same proportion, as we possess some advantages in the manufacture of heavy goods which are not enjoyed in England. So long as we produce better goods and can maintain our superiority abroad, there will be a constantly increasing export demand, which is of great value to the whole country. Upon a review of this branch of industry, it appears to me that its future prospects are excellent, if not disturbed by bad banking, and (what is still more pernicious to all branches of industry) unstable and unwise legislation.

The tariff has already been altered several times (I believe, six or seven) since 1816.

If the present movement against the Act of 1842 shall succeed, in accordance with Mr. Walker's plan, it must be followed soon by a counter movement; if not on the part of the people, the government itself will recommend it for revenue.

It may be truly asserted that the coarse cotton fabrics, such as are worn by the laboring classes, are sold as cheap here as in England, or in any part of the world. Of course there is no further burden imposed on the consumers of this description of home-made goods. It has been said that the existing duties on cotton goods prevent importations of almost every kind. This is so far from the fact, that in the last three years the amount of cotton and mixed cotton and worsted fabrics, printed and plain, imported, has been larger than in former years, having ranged from $10,000,000 to $13,000,000. This large amount is of the finer descriptions, and such as are worn by the fashionable and rich. We shall continue to import largely of these luxuries so long as our people have surplus means to expend in dress, and the permanent revenue, under the present system, will be much

greater than under that proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

The question has often been asked, Why not reduce the duties on cottons if you can sell them so low? I answer that the duty now is nearly inoperative, entirely so on some kinds, such for example as are exported in large quantities. If the duties were reduced materially on the coarse goods, I should interpose no objection, provided ample protection was maintained on the middling and fine qualities. This is a matter to be carefully arranged by practical men. We have now certainly nothing to fear in the manufacture of yarns as high as No. 14, — so far we can go on without protection, — but the higher numbers require protection, and it should be by a specific duty. The law as it now stands, although inoperative on coarse cloth, gives confidence to the investment of capital in machinery for the manufacture of fine fabrics, — in fact, a very large amount is already invested in mills which produce yarns and cloth as high as No. 60. Without protection, and that in form of specific duties, there will be no increase of machinery adapted to the middling and fine fabrics. The great amount of printed calicoes require protection, and will suffer severely without it. I will not dwell longer on this subject of cotton. I trust that I have presented facts to satisfy the cotton planter that his interests have been promoted by creating another market, and a larger one too, for the spinning of his staple. We actually consume (wear) more pounds of cotton in this country than are consumed in Great Britain, since more than two thirds of the quantity spun in that country is exported in the form of yarns and cloth. We work up more than France, and quite as much as 60,000,000 Germans. Our consuming ability of this, and all other comforts of life, is beyond that of an equal number of persons of any other country, and five times as great as that of Russia.

The factories alone of Massachusetts and a neighboring State spin annually 180,000 bales of cotton.

We received one million of barrels of flour (more than the whole export of the United States to foreign countries) the last year. The amount of products of States out of New England, taken by Massachusetts the last year, amounted to $40,000,000, in cotton, lead, wool, sugar, coal, iron, flour, grain of all sorts, pork, beef, lard, tobacco, rice, etc., for which we paid in the pro-

ducts of our labour. And this is a steady and increasing market for the articles I have named.

In fact, Massachusetts (not to speak of the other New England States, which are all large consumers) affords greater support to the agricultural and planting States, South and West, than any other State in the Union, and greater support to the strictly agricultural States than all foreign countries. The Tariff of 1842 was enacted as much for the benefit of the Southern and Western States as for Massachusetts, and they have derived as much advantage from it in proportion to their capital. Of the truth of this declaration they will be satisfied after a year's experience under Mr. Walker's plan of low *ad valorem* duties. The notion is prevalent, I am fully aware, that the Northern and Eastern States, engaged in manufacturing, enjoy the principal benefits from the present tariff. But this is not the case. By reference to the following quantities of protected articles, produced out of New England almost wholly, you will see that there are other great protected interests in the country besides the manufacture of cotton and wool. The duties on these are from 40 to 100 per cent, and on spirits they are higher. There are produced from

450,000 to 500,000 tons of iron;
220,000,000 pounds of sugar;
20,000,000 pounds of maple sugar;
9,000,000 to 12,000,000 gallons of molasses;
5,000,000 to 7,000,000 tons of coal;
50,000,000 to 60,000,000 pounds of wool;
10,000,000 bushels of salt;
60,000,000 to 70,000,000 gallons of spirits, mostly from grain;
12,000,000 to 15,000,000 yards of cotton bagging;
20,000,000 pounds of bale-rope and twine;
80,000 to 90,000 tons of hemp and flax.

To this list might be added twenty minor articles, worth in the aggregate more than the whole amount of cotton fabrics produced in the United States.

Iron we still import to the amount of 70,000 to 80,000 tons, including nearly all used on railroads, which can and will be produced at home as soon as increased capital is acquired. We now produce more iron than France or Russia, or any other

country save Great Britain, whose product is now 1,500,000 tons. Within a few years there can be no doubt that the product of iron will be doubled, provided the prosperity of the country is not interfered with by experiments made by Congress on the labor and currency of the country, which is a greater discouragement to branches of business requiring a large fixed capital than is imagined by many of our legislators who make and unmake tariffs.

It is estimated that, at the present prices of sugar, the cultivation in a very brief period of time will be extended to the required home consumption, now about 300,000,000 pounds, which in ten years may be 500,000,000 pounds. I have no doubt that the best interests of the nation require that the present duty on sugar should be maintained with other protective duties. This extension of sugar cultivation will employ a large amount of labor now devoted to the production of cotton.

It would seem that several States of this Union might with profit multiply the occupations of labor. It appears to me they require new sources of support; and the progress and condition of their population, with the amount of production, present to the reflecting portion of the people a strong argument in favor of such new sources. I will state a few facts.

The State of Virginia contains 64,000 square miles; had, in 1840, 1,239,797 inhabitants, being less than 19 to the square mile; gross products, according to Professor Tucker, $76,769,053.

New York contains 46,000 square miles; had, in 1840, 2,498,617 inhabitants; products in the same year, $193,806,433; add the product of navigation, as distinct from commerce, which is omitted, on 650,000 tons shipping, $20,000,000; making, in the aggregate, $213,000,000.

In 1790, by the first census, Virginia had 12 persons to the square mile; and New York, 7½. Now, Virginia contains 19 and New York 53 to the square mile.

In 1820 Virginia had a population of 1,065,379; in 1830, 1,211,405; in 1840, 1,239,797. New York, in 1820, 1,372,812; in 1830, 1,918,608; in 1840, 2,428,921.

In 1850 New York will probably contain nearly 3,000,000, and Virginia, say, 1,260,000. These facts, one would suppose, would be sufficient to induce the people of Virginia to introduce new branches of industry, and to establish the modern internal

improvements for transportation, that the rich resources of the State may be developed.

The condition of the two Carolinas is much the same as Virginia. The population of North and South Carolina, in 1830, was 1,319,172; in 1840, 1,347,817; increase, $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent in ten years, principally in North Carolina. Even in Great Britain the increase in the same time was 11 per cent.

In Massachusetts, although there were $81\frac{1}{2}$ to the square mile in 1830 against 17 in the Carolinas, there was an increase of 21 per cent from 1830 to 1840. The aggregate products of the two Carolinas in 1840 were $59,595,734, with a population of 1,347,817. The products of Massachusetts, with a population of less than 800,000 people, amounted at the same time to $100,000,000, and now the products of labor and capital are more than $120,000,000.

I have introduced these statements for the purpose of exhibiting fairly the true condition of some of the old States, and to awaken the public mind in those States to the importance of bringing out their productive labor by introducing new branches of business, in order that the industrial classes may be profitably employed; and to show that the three States named have as great a stake in protecting the labor of the country as any other in the Union. They have now but little else than soil and physical power remaining. You possess but a small amount of productive power in the form of railroads and labor-saving machines. You have a deep interest, in common with all the States, in upholding the labor of the country. You seem to be satisfied that the time has come when something should be done to improve the condition of your people. The people of Virginia, with South and North Carolina, (particularly the two former States,) have pursued a policy that has brought them, so far as population is concerned, to a stationary condition; and, from present indications, I should not be surprised to see Eastern Virginia and South Carolina with a less number of people in 1850 than they contained in 1840.

If you propose now to enter upon those pursuits that are certain in their operation to give employment, and that of a profitable kind, to your people, and to create a market at home for your agricultural products, what object can there be in transferring our workshops to Great Britain? The South and West

have every motive to give efficient protection to the labor of the whole Union: *first*, because those employed in the mechanical and manufacturing arts are the best customers for your agricultural products; and, *secondly*, because you desire to engage in those departments of labor yourselves. I say, then, look well to this project, now under consideration at Washington, to change our whole revenue system. There is one principle upon which every government, and every commercial community with which I am acquainted, agree throughout the world; and that is, to establish specific duties, or a valuation of their own. Mr. Walker has reversed this decision, and recommends *ad valorem* duties on an alleged valuation abroad. I deem this feature in the bill a violation of sound principle, and such as must be condemned by men of all parties whose experience and knowledge are of value. It is no other in practice than to drive from our foreign trade a large number of honest importing merchants, and to place their business in the hands of unscrupulous foreigners. Time may reveal the truth of this prediction.

The President and his Secretary of the Treasury have stated that the operations of the present tariff law oppressed the poor. I confess this assertion surprised me, coming from high functionaries of the government, who have the means of obtaining correct information. I assume the responsibility of stating that a laboring man may be and is clothed with American manufactures, from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, as cheaply as a laboring man in Great Britain, or in any other part of Europe, who wears as comfortable garments; and that the revenue is raised principally from articles consumed by those classes of society who are in easy pecuniary circumstances. I beg to refer Mr. Walker to the reports from the customs, and ask the favor of him to present them to the President, and he will there find the only article on which the poor man is taxed to any extent is sugar; and that cannot be deemed very onerous when he obtains his tea and coffee free of duty, and with a favorable prospect, if the present duty be maintained, of very soon being supplied from our own soil with sugar at a price much below that now paid. It is an error of the President and Secretary to put forth a statement that the Tariff of 1842 oppresses the poor man, when the principal part of the revenue is derived rather from the luxuries than the necessaries of life.

When we hear from high sources of transferring our workshops to Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, I should be glad to know if it be proposed to transfer our intelligent working-men with them, and whether a farmer in Ohio can be made to believe that these men will eat more of his beef and pork in Old than in New England. This is a strange doctrine, and sounds to me quite anti-American, and is the same as the sentiments uttered by the old Tories previous to the Revolutionary War.

There is one other point, to which I shall allude, in the report of the honorable Secretary. He says that the wages of labor are lower now than previous to the Tariff of 1842. If he means the wages of labor in the manufacturing portions of the country, I will state a fact which I think completely illustrates the incorrectness of his assertion.

In the State of Massachusetts the Institutions for Savings are obliged by law to make returns to the legislature. In the annual returns just published I find the following: —

SAVINGS BANKS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

	Number of depositors.	Amount deposited.	Increase in depositors.	Increase in amount deposited.
1841	39,832	$6,485,424.82		
1842	41,102	6,675,878.05	1,270	$190,453.23
1845	54,256	9,214,954.07	13,154	2,539,076.02

being an increase from 1841 to 1842 of about 3 per cent on depositors and about $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on amount deposited; and an increase from 1842 to 1845 of about 32 per cent on depositors, or nearly 11 per cent per annum, and about 38 per cent on amount deposited, or nearly 13 per cent per annum.

I shall make no comments upon this extraordinary exhibition of the increase of depositors and deposits, further than to state that all the world knows for whom these admirable institutions were established and by whom they are used.

I will not trouble you with more facts, arguments, or illustrations touching this great question, national in its character, as broad as the limits of the Union, and one that reaches the condition of every individual in it.

I have, personally, no more interest in this question than any other citizen. If the government adopts a course of measures that prostrates the labor of the country, I shall, in common with every other citizen, feel its effects. We are, I hold, one great

family, and indissolubly linked together, and the chain cannot be touched without the vibration being felt at either extremity.

I entertain and cherish a strong American feeling. Although born and bred in Massachusetts, I have a feeling of pride in the honor and character of every State in our Union. I desire to see our whole population go onward and upward in a course of prosperity and happiness. My affections for this country are not bounded by geographical lines; and whether I find myself in Maine or in Georgia, still I am an American citizen, protected by the constitution and laws of one of the most prosperous and happy countries upon which the sun ever shone. With all our party strifes and bickerings, the country goes on prospering and, I trust, is to prosper. I have only to ask of those who are now the actors on our great political stage, not to experiment upon the prosperity and destinies of a happy and contented people.

With sentiments of the highest respect and regard, I remain, dear sir,

Your friend and obedient servant,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

To the Hon. WILLIAM C. RIVES,
Castle Hill, Albemarle County, Virginia.

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.

I.

THE NAVIGATION LAWS.

MR. LAWRENCE TO MR. CLAYTON.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, 2nd November, 1849.

SIR, — Since I last had the honor of addressing you, nothing of political importance has transpired in Europe. The latest journals from the United States bring to us the notice issued by the Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the navigation laws. This has been received with great satisfaction by the ministry, and others who were in favor of the repeal of the British laws upon this subject. I confess my gratification at the repeal of these laws, as we can now test our ability to compete successfully with the greatest navigating nation in the world. Looking upon this question as one of grave importance to the interests of the United States, I have given it my best consideration. We have advantages in the construction of ships over any portion of Great Britain. Take, for example, the cost of a ship, built in Liverpool, of 1,250 tons burden, the cost in London being about the same.

Timber and plank delivered at the yard in a rough state	£12,150
Labor, carpenters' work, caulkers, etc.	6,300
Treenails	220
Oakum, pitch, etc.	150
Yard rent	400
Contingencies, iron, copper, etc.	1,600
Cost of fitting sails, rigging, etc.	9,000
	£29,820

This will make the cost per ton $116. Then to navigate her, she will require under the English laws not less than forty nor more than forty-five men, including officers and crew. A ship has been and can again be built, of 1250 tons burden, at a net cost of $85,000, or $68 per ton, and can be navigated by thirty officers and men. These details have been furnished by practical shipbuilders. If we reduce the cost of building in England ten per cent, and increase the cost in the United States ten per cent, there still exists a large margin in favor of the United States. The same remark will apply to the number of seamen employed. It may be said that the wages both of master and men are lower here than in the United States. It is true that the masters of British ships are paid much less than the masters of American ships, and that seamen's wages are also somewhat lower. These items would appear to be of importance in a sharp competition for the mercantile supremacy of the world. Capital is also cheaper than in our country, an advantage to the British ship-owner that he will probably enjoy for a long time to come. None of these facts can, in my estimation, prevent a successful competition on our part with our great rival. The enterprise, energy, and intelligence of *our* ship-owners, officers, and men, will in the end prevail. It will be found, I think, that our form of government has more influence upon this question, than any other assignable cause, in the production of men who have no conventional rules or regulations to remove, and no prejudices to encounter. I will not depreciate the character of British seamen. It would be folly to speak lightly of a people who have by their enterprise and valor made themselves masters of the ocean, and who possess at this moment the largest naval as well as mercantile marine in the world. Yet I cannot but see that the character of the American mariner is more elevated than that of any other seaman, — a fact which I ascribe to his better education and his higher expectations for the future. I believe these men to be the necessary products of free government and popular education, and we exhibit them to the world as sure elements of success in their new field of enterprise and labor. The truth of these views has been partially illustrated in the prosecution of the whale fishery. That branch of commerce is open to all the world, and what has been the result? The skill and courage of American seamen have created, in that hazardous and almost romantic

branch of national industry, a marine of seven hundred and fifty ships, belonging to the United States, which may be found in every sea. The British whale fishery has diminished to a tenth part of this number, and is yet diminishing, and it is believed by many will be abandoned altogether, not being able to compete with the hardy and intelligent sons of Neptune, born and bred in the United States. We are young and vigorous, and a fair field is now open for the exercise of the physical and mental powers of the old and young Anglo-Saxon. We have now open to us, by the repeal of the British Navigation Laws, a field for action, the barriers to which we desired to have removed more than thirty years ago. We offered to all the world reciprocity, so far as the carrying trade was concerned. England, more important to the United States than all other countries besides, refused to accept it. She has now adopted the proffer we then made, and I have no doubt we shall obtain advantages of great consequence from it. It is very questionable whether the measure of 1817 was founded in wisdom on the part of the United States, inasmuch as those nations embraced it which had very slender equivalents to offer in return. Our navigating interests have, in my judgment, suffered severely from the adoption of this reciprocity principle. What reciprocal trade is there for our ships between Prussia, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark? Would it not be useful, to a full understanding of our commercial relations with those countries, that an inquiry should be instituted, and the true operation of reciprocity with them laid before the people? It would be well, I think, to know what equivalents we obtain for the privilege we grant them of bringing to our shores the products of other countries than their own, and carrying thence the products of ours. It should be remembered that the United States is the largest exporting country, in bulk, upon the earth, with productions that are essential to the well-being of almost every nation in Europe. I cannot, therefore, but entertain the hope that those nations on the continent of Europe, which have enjoyed the high privilege of reciprocity in navigation, may be induced to reduce the duties upon tobacco and other articles of our production. I have taken the liberty to call your attention to this question of reciprocity, without any desire for immediate action upon it, but with a view to bring the subject to the consideration of the government and people.

It appears to me that the United States will soon possess a full share of the commerce of the world, and it only requires the exercise of timely wisdom to secure it permanently. In order that the people of our land may obtain the full benefit of their own vast resources, *it is essential* that their labor should have reasonable protection against *the very cheap labor* of this and all other countries.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

P. S. — I beg to add that under no circumstances can we yield the slightest portion of our coasting trade, either upon the Atlantic or Pacific oceans.

To the Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

II.

CENTRAL AMERICA.

MR. LAWRENCE TO MR. CLAYTON.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, 9th November, 1849.

SIR, — After closing my despatch No. 8, I unexpectedly received a note, at a quarter past three, from Lord Palmerston, appointing an interview immediately, and repaired at once to his house, where I had a free conversation respecting Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Mosquito, and particularly upon the points of occupation and colonization and the guarantee of the neutrality of a ship canal or other communication across the Isthmus. If these two questions are settled by Great Britain in accordance with our views, it seems to me they will form the basis of successful action hereafter. I informed Lord Palmerston of the treaties made by Mr. Hise and Mr. Squier, and also of Mr. White's contract with Nicaragua, and promised that he might read all of them at a future time. I stated that my present object was to obtain from him a declaration in writing of the views of his government upon the two questions above referred

to, that I might communicate it to you by to-morrow's steamer, and, for reasons which I gave, placed it upon the ground of personal favor. He expressed himself willing to answer a note embodying these interrogations, after first seeing the Premier.

I also took occasion to put some of the other questions you instructed me to ask. To the question, Whether this government is informed of any route for a canal more favorable than that proposed? he replied that he had no knowledge of any other. To the question, What are the purposes of the British government towards Costa Rica? he answered, They have no political relations whatever with that country; that the government of Great Britain had been often applied to by the agents of Costa Rica to assist them, but had declined meddling with the affairs of the Central American states. To the inquiry as to a late map of Central America, he replied that he did not know whether any had been published; but he exhibited to me a map of Costa Rica lately sent to him by an agent of that State. I will make further inquiries for such a map, and, if it is to be had, will send you a copy as soon as possible. I then told Lord Palmerston that I should not now enter upon a discussion of the rights of the Mosquitos, and hoped that it would not become necessary; but if it should, I was prepared to show, by reference to principles of public law recognized and practised upon by Great Britain herself, that neither the Mosquitos nor Great Britain had the slightest claim to the sovereignty of that territory. I thank you for the suggestions and full instructions upon this subject. If it is to be argued, I shall find your despatch of great service.

After this interview, I returned at once and addressed a note to Lord Palmerston, requesting to knew, in time to send by this packet, if possible, — 1st, Whether Great Britain intends to occupy or colonize Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast (so called), or any part of Central America? and 2nd, Whether Her Majesty's Government would join with the United States in guaranteeing the neutrality of a ship canal, railway, or other communication, to be open to the world and common to all nations? At the same time I took occasion to say that I had no doubt the difficulties between Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and the Indians could be arranged satisfactorily to all parties, but declined entering upon the discussion of these questions at present. I also repeated that we had no ulterior purposes in view, and

expressed my belief that the United States would be willing to mutually agree with Great Britain, neither to settle, annex, colonize, nor fortify Central America. You will perceive that I narrowed the ground, on which we shall of course act hereafter, in order to obtain a prompt reply, well knowing your anxiety on this subject, and the importance of relieving the popular mind. I cannot but think, however, that the whole thing hinges on the points raised by these questions. If the reply of Lord Palmerston is of the character I anticipate, I firmly believe that this question of Mosquito, with the disputes between Nicaragua and Costa Rica about their boundaries, can be amicably settled. Costa Rica comes here and finds fault with the United States. Nicaragua goes to the United States and finds fault with Great Britain. Now, if the whole question be approached with a desire to preserve harmony, not only between the United States and Great Britain, but between the several States of Central America, and your suggestion be carried out respecting the Mosquito Indians, the whole affair must be settled, and without compromising the honor of any party.

I have been forced to write this note before receiving a reply from Lord Palmerston, as, if I get one, it will not come till just before the closing of the mail. I have also been obliged to write in great haste, as twenty-four hours have not yet elapsed since I left the Legation to go to Lord Palmerston's house, and it is very possible I may have omitted some parts of the conversation. I have endeavored to give you the more essential parts, and hope at an early day that this question will be amicably settled, and a new era opened in the history of the world by the creation of a new highway for its traffic.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

The Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

III.

MR. LAWRENCE TO MR CLAYTON.

East Sheen (near London),
28th December, 1849.

Sir, — Your despatch No. 8 was received on the 25th inst. It found me too ill to attend to business, in which condition I yet remain. I enclose a copy of a note sent to Lord Palmerston the 15th inst., which I hope will meet with your approval. Mr. Stevens promises his catalogue by the next steamer. He finds it more voluminous than he expected.

No answer has as yet been received from Lord Palmerston. The "Times" has taken up the subject again in an article friendly to our view.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

Abbott Lawrence.

The Hon. John M. Clayton,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

[enclosure.]

MR. LAWRENCE TO LORD PALMERSTON.

The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, has the honor to call the attention of Viscount Palmerston, Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the political condition of Central America, and the plans for the construction of a railway and ship canal through that country, from ocean to ocean, which have recently been the subject of conversations and correspondence between the undersigned and his Lordship, and about which it seems desirable that the respective views of the United States and Her Majesty's Governments should be mutually and definitely understood.

The undersigned desires, first, to recapitulate the facts illustrating the present position of this question. Great Britain and the United States both profess to desire to see highways constructed from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Both wish to see these highways properly guarded during construction and after com-

pletion. Both desire to see them, when finished, placed upon such a basis as will entitle them to the confidence of the world. Each has an interest in them approached only by that of the other. For Great Britain they will open new and shorter routes to her Eastern empire; for the United States they will be the bridge connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific States and consolidating their vast territory. Above all, for the world, by opening new avenues for its commerce and greater facilities for friendly intercourse, they will offer strong guaranties for the continuance of peace and the increase of good-will.

The United States have already taken the initiatory steps for such results. Permission to construct a railway across the Isthmus of Darien, near Panama, has been granted to a private company of American citizens, who have been joined by British capitalists; and the work is now under construction, its neutrality guaranteed by a treaty of the United States with New Granada. The State of Nicaragua has also granted to certain citizens of the United States the right to construct a ship canal from sea to sea through her territory; and the neutrality of this route also is guaranteed by a treaty concluded, but not yet ratified, between the United States and Nicaragua. This treaty will probably be submitted for ratification to the Senate at its present session, and the undersigned has been informed that it is proposed to offer the subscriptions of the canal stock to English and American capitalists. Copies of these several treaties and charters the undersigned has already had the honor to submit to Lord Palmerston. The United States have disclaimed all intention to settle, annex, colonize, or fortify the territory of Central America, which declaration has been met by a similar disclaimer on the part of Great Britain. Her Majesty's Government have intimated their willingness to join with the United States in their guarantees of neutrality. To this brief statement may be added that the undersigned has learned, unofficially, through the public press, that the chargé d'affaires of the United States of Guatemala has obtained from the Government of Honduras the cession of an island in the Pacific Ocean, with reference to the wants of the proposed canal: from which, if correct, it would appear that arrangements have been made by the United States for its western outlet.

From the foregoing statement it appears that Great Britain

and the United States agree on all the main points. Lord Palmerston will also undoubtedly coincide with the undersigned in the belief that without such agreement this work may be delayed. No other nations in the world have such important interests to be affected by it; no others have the requisite capital at command; no others have shown a willingness to guarantee the neutrality essential to its safety, and capital, always timid, would shrink from it without such guarantee, much more were it the cause of disagreement between these two nations. Though Great Britain and the United States may each be in a position to do this work single-handed, yet neither would probably desire to do so. It may therefore be assumed that the two countries desire to go on with the work through their respective capitalists, together and harmoniously; and that, in the absence of any obstacles, it would be soon completed and in operation.

The only apparent obstacles are the boundary disputes between the several states of Central America, the claims made in favor of the Mosquito Indians to a portion of the territory of the eastern coast of the Isthmus, and the British occupation of Greytown.

Desiring to remove, if possible, these impediments, the undersigned offers for the consideration of Viscount Palmerston certain suggestions, in the hope that his Lordship will either coincide with the views of the undersigned, or will offer some others more feasible. In regard to the boundaries of the states of Central America, the undersigned is persuaded that, if these states fail to settle them amicably, they can be induced to submit their disputes to the arbitration of certain citizens of the United States and Great Britain appointed by those two governments, whose decision shall be final. The kind offices of those two nations might be further extended to a recommendation to the different states of the Isthmus to unite under a federative government, both for the better social development of that people and the peace of a country becoming so important to the world. With respect to the Indians, the United States are convinced that their claim is against well-settled principles of public law, and its admission would virtually surrender to barbarism much of the American soil now in the possession of the aborigines. The undersigned is sensible that, unless the views of the two governments on this subject can be harmonized,

the co-operation so much desired will be prevented; and, feeling confident that Viscount Palmerston, as well as himself, would deprecate such a result, he begs leave to present certain considerations which he believes may bring the two nations together.

In a former communication Viscount Palmerston has said that "a close political connection has existed between the crown of Great Britain and the state and territory of Mosquito for a period of about two centuries." It is no purpose of the undersigned at present to consider the nature, object, or history of that connection. He alludes to it simply to call Lord Palmerston's attention to the great changes which in that time have come over the world. Its commerce has increased in an almost untold ratio. Facilities of intercourse exist, then undreamed of. New nations have become powerful on lands then scarcely discovered and entirely unknown. Old kingdoms, then great, have faded away. Older powers still have been reanimated by an infusion of Christian vigor. And now, by a combination of these circumstances, with a future in prospect surpassing them all, the eastern coast of Central America has received an importance it never before possessed. It appears to the undersigned that the just interests of humanity demand that this territory should be open to the great object under consideration, without let or hindrance, even though the claim of these savages were valid. They can be properly provided for otherwise. But the face of Nature cannot be entirely changed; and, in order to give full confidence to the capitalists of Europe and America, neither the United States nor Great Britain should exercise any political power over the Indians or any of the states of Central America. The occupation of Greytown, and the attempt to establish a protected independence of Mosquito, throw at once obstacles in the way, excite jealousies, and destroy confidence, without which capital can never flow in this channel. Nicaragua, too, stands in a position to *demand* the good-will of all entering into this work. She holds the undoubted western key; and should she refuse the right to traverse her territory, except on the recognition of its integrity, neither Great Britain nor the United States could take that right by force. She has already, too, granted the only available charter ever given, and the grantees stand ready to go on when they can once be assured of protection.

The undersigned can discover no course that will ensure the accomplishment of this great work, except the extension of Nicaragua from shore to shore, including of course the dedication of Greytown to the purposes of the canal, which Her Majesty's Government have already expressed a willingness to make. The Indians must be properly cared for. The United States would view with no less concern than Great Britain the practice of any harshness towards that people. The right might be guaranteed to them to pursue their usual occupations within definite limits, ample for such a purpose; with a condition that if any nation, corporation, or company have acquired or may acquire the privilege of constructing a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by means of a canal, and if such communication shall necessarily pass through the lands assigned to the Mosquitos, a reasonable compensation shall be secured to them, which shall be paid by Nicaragua for the extinction of their title to as much of that territory as may be necessary for the objects in view. In that event, of course, the sovereignty of the whole territory would rest in the Spanish states; the whole arrangements and stipulations on their part, however, with regard to the Indians, to be made satisfactory to the United States and Great Britain, and proper stipulations made for enforcing the same. The execution of these suggestions would require the conclusion of treaties between Great Britain and some of the states of Central America, as well as the United States and the same states, and the undersigned is obliged to say that the United States have no power over any of them, nor has he authority to speak for them. He can assure Viscount Palmerston that, in the event of these suggestions meeting the views of Her Majesty's Government, the United States will spare no proper exertion to induce the powers to become parties to such an arrangement.

The undersigned has therefore the honor to inquire of Viscount Palmerston whether Her Majesty's Government are willing to enter into a treaty with Nicaragua similar to that negotiated by Mr. Squier on behalf of the United States, — whether they are willing to enter into a treaty with New Grenada, guaranteeing the neutrality of the railway now under construction, and whether they are willing to let the protectorate of the Indians pass to other hands under proper checks and guards for

their humane treatment, and let such parts of the territory (said to be occupied by them) as may be necessary be dedicated to this great work.

A ship canal connecting the two oceans will do more to perpetuate peace between Great Britain and the United States, and in fact in the whole world, than any other work yet achieved. After the lapse of centuries, during which various companies have been formed for its construction, and have failed, we have the opportunity to exhibit anew the power and energy which have made us the two greatest commercial nations on earth. It is our mission to extend commerce, the pioneer of civilization and child of peace, to all parts of the world; to cultivate friendly relations with all; to bring the distant near, and to illustrate by our example the elevating effects of Christianity. There is a fitness in our union for the purpose of opening a great channel of communication, — saving a distance of more than ten thousand miles, — given up to the use of the world, dedicated to peace, and working out incalculable benefits to mankind. Let us construct the work on the only practicable basis, and invite all nations to join in the guarantee of its neutrality, that neither now nor hereafter jealousies may arise on the part of those who may be the recipients of its benefits.

The undersigned begs leave to add further, that he has reason to think that the people of Great Britain and the United States entertain the same feelings in regard to the importance of this work, and stand ready to enter on its construction, as they have already on that of the railway, when they can see their investments guarded by suitable guarantees. He ventures to express the hope that Viscount Palmerston will give the subject an early consideration. The Congress of the United States is now in session, and he is anxious to transmit the decision of Her Majesty's Government to the President.[1]

The undersigned begs Lord Palmerston to accept the assurance of his distinguished consideration.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
138 Piccadilly, 14th December, 1849.

[1] No reply to this Note was ever received; but there is reason to believe that, in consequence of it, the instructions were sent to Sir Henry Bulwer under which the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was negotiated. Mr. Clayton may never have expressed his approval of the Note in an official despatch; but it was received in Washington with the greatest satisfaction, and President Taylor especially is said to have spoken in high terms of it. — H. A. H.

IV.

MR. LAWRENCE TO MR CLAYTON.

United States Legation, London,
April 19, 1850.

Sir, — Not long after my arrival in this country I became satisfied that there was a very serious difference of opinion between Great Britain and the United States, relative to the protectorate claimed by the former over the Mosquito Indians; and thinking it most probable that I should be called upon officially to defend this difference upon our part, I early commenced, and have steadily pursued the investigation of that question, using the great means which my locality has placed in my power. I have from time to time kept you informed of my labors, but have never deemed it necessary to acquaint you with their results, as I have supposed, from the tenor of your public as well as private notes, that the discussion of this question would take place here if at all. I now learn, from your private note of the 31st ultimo, that these negotiations are entirely transferred to Washington, and that I am to cease altogether pressing them here. In this event I have thought you would most probably wish to be possessed of the materials I had provided for myself. If, in submitting them, I travel over ground familiar to you, or omit much your sagacity had detected, you will pardon me in view of the haste with which this is finally reduced to form, and in view also of the earnest desire which actuates me to do all in my power to advance the public interests.

You are aware that the British argument for the independence of Mosquito rests on the following grounds: *first*, a denial that Spain ever acquired a title in the territory in question; *second*, the assertion that whatever show of title she had was abandoned by the treaty of 1670, in view of a long-previous and then existing "possession" of that country by England; which possession, it is said, was subsequently maintained and further fortified by the submission of several Mosquito kings in succession, and was in existence at the time of concluding the treaties of 1783 and 1786; and *third*, the claim that whatever might have been the former legal condition of these Indians, or whatever might have been the just construction of the treaties of 1783 and 1786, yet,

when the states of Central America threw off allegiance to Spain, and worked out their independence, those treaties became, by that very act, nullities as to those states, at least until their political recognition by Spain, which Lord Palmerston asserts has never been diplomatically accorded; and that in consequence of the want of such recognition, those states are incapable of inheriting *any* Spanish rights in Mosquito, whether acquired by discovery, conquest, occupation, treaty, or in any other way, but must show, to avail, a title acquired by themselves, independently of the mother country.

I can obtain more directness in this note by making a denial of these propositions its basis.

Before entering upon their discussion, however, I desire to say a word as to the geographical limits of Mosquito, which are by no means accurately defined even in the claim made by Her Majesty's Government.

There is, on the eastern coast of Central America, between Cape Honduras on the north and the San Juan River on the south (possibly extending as far even as Boca del Toro), a tract of low, swampy, unhealthy land of a various width, and rising in its western border into highlands and mountains. The lower part of this country has never been much occupied by Europeans, in consequence of its insalubrity. The mountainous parts are said to contain but little valuable mineral stores. At the time of the discovery by Columbus, and until within a comparatively recent period, it was inhabited by some fifteen or sixteen tribes of Indians, speaking different languages and often at war with each other; and, among others, there was a tribe known as the Mosquitos (so called by the early voyagers from the abundance of *Moscas* found on the coast), living between Cape Honduras and Cape Gracias a Dios. They gradually overcame and almost exterminated the more southern tribes, aided perhaps by the Buccaneers, and by degrees the name of Mosquito came to be applied to all living north of the Bluefields; and I think, in all the discussions of the last century relating to this subject, the Mosquito country was never understood to extend far, if at all, below that river. It is now defined by Lord Palmerston as reaching to the San Juan River, embracing the northern bank, so as to take in San Juan de Nicaragua (Anglicized into Georgetown), and command the mouth of the river. In my opinion, it is

quite immaterial where the royal geographers are directed to draw the line, as I am satisfied the whole claim is without just foundation. All the good maps of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, French, Spanish, Dutch, and *English*, carry Honduras from coast to coast, — Nicaragua the same, — and fix the southern terminus of the Mosquito Shore at or near where I have indicated.

The character of the Indians at present occupying this country deserves notice, since Great Britain seeks to invest them with the attributes of an independent nation.

In the year 1836 one James Woods, a native of Ipswich in the county of Suffolk, allured by the promises of an emigration company, set sail for Vera Paz. On his return, in 1840, he published a sketch of his adventures in Central America, to serve as a warning against similiar companies. Among other places, he resided awhile at Cape Gracias a Dios, in charge of a store of provisions, rum, etc., etc. He says: "The rum was a dangerous thing in the store, for the Indians will kill a man for the sake of a glass of rum; and there were only five Europeans on the cape. I had a demijohn of brandy for the Indian king, but he was gone up the river. He and his brother were taken from the Mosquito Shore when young, and carried to the island of Jamaica, where they were taught to read and write the English language. After staying there for several years, they were brought back to the Mosquito Shore. One was made king, the other a general; and, although brought up in a civilized state, yet they returned to the wild and savage state in which their people live, — getting drunk, and giving themselves up to the most disgusting habits. No sooner had the king heard I had a demijohn of brandy for him, than he set out to return home. He went to the house of a Frenchman named Bouchet, who came down to the store and told me His Majesty wished to see me. I went up to the house, where the king was lying on the bed, rather unwell. I made my compliments to him, and asked him how he did. He told me he was very poorly, and that he wanted me to draw him a gallon of brandy. Accordingly, I went down to the store and drew him a gallon, which I carried to him. He asked me to drink, and stay and dine with him, which I did. He told me that he loved me. I replied, 'You love the brandy better;' but I turned it off with a laugh, or he would have been offended with

me. He stayed for two or three days, and then left for Bluefields. These Indians far exceed all the Indians I have ever met with in lying, thieving, and everything that is disgusting. They are given up to idolatry, and lead an indolent life." After giving details of their ignorance and barbarism, he adds: "They are also great drunkards, and are never easy but when they are drunk." And of the English settlers on the shores he says: "They are almost as bad as the natives, and live in almost as disgusting a manner." This strong picture, painted by an Englishman, is borne out by the personal relations of many other travellers.

The historical portion of this paper will relate, not to Mosquito alone, but to Central America from Tehuantepec to Panama. The naval and military operations of the Spaniards were so extensive, their conquests were so complete, and their settlements were so rapid and numerous, that it is impossible to separate the conquest and colonization of that part of Nicaragua and Honduras called the Mosquito Coast, from the subjugation and settlement of that portion of them to the west of the indefinite line swaying across their interior at the will of the Foreign Office.

With these preliminary statements, I now arrive at an examination of the positions taken by Her Majesty's Government.

The first is a denial that Spain ever acquired any right in Mosquito.

The complete discussion of this proposition necessarily requires a twofold argument, — the one purely legal, the other purely historical; the one a general inquiry into the means of acquiring exclusive sovereignty or domain in such a country as Central America, as settled by the practice of nations and the opinions of jurists and statesmen; the other a particular examination into the question whether Spain, or her representatives, had taken the necessary steps to acquire such. As it would be worse than needless, with you, to enter at length upon the first, I will content myself with a statement of such general principles as are necessary to the understanding of what I have to say as to the second.

The discovery of a new continent, rich and fertile, peopled by tribes of hunters, gave to the more civilized Europeans (in their own judgment) the right to take possession of it, to people it, and to open its resources. Public and private enterprise carried to its shores, in the course of a few years, adventurers from many

nations, who made almost contemporaneous discoveries: and it became necessary to define the nature of the rights acquired by the discoverer, both as between himself and the nation, and himself and other discoverers. As emigration or military expeditions receded from the coast into the country, and the extent of coast rights came under discussion, these conflicting claims became more complicated; but, fortunately, the complete exploration and settlement of Central America at a very early day entirely do away with the necessity of entering upon this difficult ground.

The Christian world have agreed in recognizing the Indians as *occupants* only of the land, with a right to possession without domain. Absolute sovereignty was in each case acquired by discovery to the government by whose subjects or under whose authority the discovery was made, subject only to the Indian right of occupation, which the discovering power possessed the exclusive right of acquiring at such time and in such manner as it might think best, — provided the discovery was consummated by a subsequent possession, not of the whole, but of some point in the country claimed. As a necessary result, the occupying Indians became the *quasi* subjects of the discoverers, who alone had the right of regulating their relations with them, and might justly consider "an attempt to form a political connection with them as an invasion of territory and an act of hostility." The possession requisite was not that of an active settlement; neither was it ever held necessary that the aborigines should be conquered.

I might fortify these views by a long display of authority. I could cite Vattel, Kent, Grotius, and other legal writers. I could call to my aid Chief Justice Marshall, whose luminous opinions have never been surpassed. I could quote from the official arguments and correspondence of English, French, Spanish, and American statesmen and diplomatists. I could point to the universal polity of the Christian world. I could show with confidence what has been the conduct of Portugal in Brazil, and of France in the Canadas and in Louisiana. I could examine the history of Spanish discovery and conquest from Oregon to Patagonia, from 1492 to 1820, exhibiting the admitted acquisition of vast empires by the former process, and their transfer (as in the case of the Floridas) without a reduction to possession by the latter. Above all, I could rely on the precedents furnished by

the English efforts at colonization; on the claim to extend the thirteen Atlantic colonies to the Mississippi; on the conflict with France on the Ohio, in the middle of the eighteenth century; on the treaty of peace with the United States in 1782; and, still later, on the difficulties with the French in Australasia since the Peace of 1815. But it would be needless to quote these authorities at length, since they are, doubtless, more familiar to you than to me. I am left therefore, in this connection, only to show that Spain *discovered* Central America, and *occupied* it. I believe that she did much more: that she discovered, circumvallated, explored, conquered, settled, retained possession of, and governed it, with only such interference as the rudeness of the times permitted or rather could not prevent.

The principal authorities for the early history of Central America are Oviedo, Peter Martyr, Gomara, Enciso, Cortez, Las Casas, Herrera, Torquemada, Remesal, Cogolludo, Wytfliet, De Laet, Ogilby, Villagutierre, Sanson, Moll, Jefferys, Navarette, Juarros, Linschoten, Botero, Hakluyt, Purchas, Alcedo, etc. I have caused all these to be carefully examined, and compared with many other writers — Spanish, English, Dutch, and French. The following facts are derived chiefly from the above sources.

Columbus, in his fourth voyage, first made land on the North American continent at Cape Honduras, near the present town of Truxillo, on the 17th of August, 1502; and thence, proceeding easterly, shortly afterwards entered the mouth of Black River, and, in accordance with his instructions, landed and took formal possession of the country, in the presence of the unresisting natives, in the name of the crown of Castile. In the early Spanish maps this river is called the Rio del Possession, a name given to it by Columbus himself, in commemoration of this event. He next touched and took possession at Cape Gracias a Dios, where he remained a short time, holding friendly intercourse with the natives, whom he described more favorably than he did their country. Thence he coasted leisurely southward toward Veragua, communicating often with the inhabitants, and touching particularly at the Bluefields River and at the mouth of the San Juan.

The result of this voyage being known in Spain, expeditions were fitted out, at different times, under various commanders, which reconnoitred thoroughly the entire coast from Darien to

the Bay of Honduras, penetrating even to the extremity of Golf Dolce, and thence along the coast of Yucatan. Much intercourse was held with the natives, and every river and bay was penetrated to find the supposed strait to the land beyond the Ganges; for this country was then believed to be an island, or part of India, and the Spaniards were not fully disabused of the idea until the discovery of the Pacific by Balboa in 1512. After this event expeditions sailed, from year to year, along both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, with the double purpose of discovering the supposed passage connecting the two oceans, and of exploring, conquering, and settling the country. And so rapidly were the latter objects accomplished, that, by the year 1530, not only the Pacific coast, from Panama to the Gulf of Fonseca, had been reconnoitred, but the interior, from Tehuantepec to Veragua, had been crossed and recrossed, many tribes of Indians had been subjected, and towns had been built, under the commands of the two D'Avilas, Olid, Francis de Las Casas, Cortez, Alvaredo, Gringalsa, Cordova, Roxas, Montejo, etc. From the nature of the country, as I have already described it, the principal settlements were made near the Pacific coast; but the Spaniards did not neglect to consummate their title on the eastern shore. Truxillo, Omoa, and other towns on the Bay of Honduras were founded in 1524. Roxas attempted a settlement at Cape Gracias a Dios in 1530, which he found impracticable from the nature of the country. Merida was founded in 1542; Valladolid, in 1526, and rebuilt in 1543; Campeche, in 1540. And in the interior many towns were built, as Olaucho, Comayagua, Segovia, etc. Before 1530 the greater proportion of the very numerous tribes of Indians were subjected to the Spanish authorities, either by the military or the ecclesiastical power; for, after the coming of Las Casas, the missionaries did nearly as much as the soldiers in controlling the aborigines. Nicaragua and Honduras are reported to have been most densely populated at the time of the discovery; but scarcely half a century had elapsed before nearly nine tenths of the natives had faded away before their bloody conquerors. As early as 1524 Cortez wrote to the Emperor Charles V. that only two of the many tribes of Honduras remained unconquered. Shortly after, these yielded to the power of Alvaredo. Some fled to the mountains and the country now known as Mosquito, where they remained unmolested, protected by their own weakness, and

by the want of mineral wealth in the soil on which they had taken refuge. They were shielded, too, by a still stronger arm. Spain, ever jealous of the interference of other European powers in her traffic, left this region unsettled, to be a barrier between the Atlantic and the golden regions of the west. But, though she neglected to cultivate, she never neglected to protect and defend. *Guarda costa* were early established to protect the coast, and watch over the argosies as they set sail for the Old World.

The natives of Mosquito were thenceforward constantly under the influence both of the Franciscan and Dominican orders of missionaries. From 1575 to a very late period Spanish missionaries almost always resided, by order of government, among the numerous tribes of Mosquito. Sometimes as many as twenty at a time were there, exerting a great influence in softening the barbarity of those savage tribes. It is true that many of them were subjected to the most revolting cruelties, and suffered death itself: yet, in almost every instance, these were caused by the hostilities and treacheries of these warlike tribes among themselves, and not, as the English writers assert, by their hatred of the Spanish yoke. The missionary was destroyed, not by the tribe with which he lived, but by its enemies. Fortunately, the histories of the Franciscan and Dominican orders give ample details of these extraordinary missions.

I think I have now established all I promised with reference to the discovery, conquest, and settlement of this country by Spain. It is not to be concealed, however, that the exaggerated accounts of her wealth and the value of her commerce soon attracted hostile parties to these shores, who, in process of time, increased in power, and became the foundation for claims adverse to her territorial rights on the Mosquito Coast. This brings me to a notice of the Buccaneers, or pirates, of the West Indies.

The early Buccaneers were composed of English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese adventurers. The private enterprises of Drake and his contemporaries are well known. Like all other Buccaneer adventures for half a century later, they were directed against the Spaniards, only because Spain was the wealthiest and most commercial nation, and therefore the best object of plunder. During time of war (and it should be borne in mind that Spain was almost constantly at war with some European power) these pirates managed to get from unscrupulous governments letters of

reprisal, and sometimes sailed under English, sometimes under French, sometimes under Dutch, and sometimes under Portuguese commissions, as the case might be. Spain treated them all alike as pirates. England, in those days, so far from availing herself of their acts, disclaimed them. The Spanish ambassador at London repeatedly remonstrated against their depredations, and was always met with a disavowal. By the time of Cromwell they had become very numerous. Spain increased her *guarda costa*, and sought to protect herself by destroying them; but this only served to unite all shades and nations together under a kind of piratical republic of the sea. Meanwhile England, France, and Holland had each gained a footing in the West Indies. The pirates had grown so numerous that no power was exempted from their depredations. England felt their influence, and was about negotiating with Spain for their overthrow, when the difficulties between Charles and his Parliament interfered to prevent. When the negotiations were renewed with Cromwell, he put off the conclusion of a treaty till he could secure some conquest in the West Indies, and despatched secretly an expedition against Cuba, which, failing in its object, won Jamaica in 1655 to English dominion. Then England offered to negotiate and define the respective rights of England and Spain, but the latter refused. Immediately after the conquest of Jamaica, the governors of that island turned their attention to the pirates, and, finding their reduction too difficult a work, sought to take advantage by regulation, of what they could not destroy by force. The stringent measures they took induced many to abandon their dangerous avocation, and retire to the Indians of Yucatan, Honduras, and Nicaragua, with whom they had been in intercourse for many years; and hence the great increase of the English trade in logwood and, subsequently, in mahogany. The Mosquito Indians about Cape Gracias a Dios had been repeatedly stimulated by the Dutch, French, and English adventurers, during the several wars against Spain, to join in the expeditions against the Spanish settlements, and, indeed, were on such friendly terms with all, that each claims the priority of intimacy with them. The earliest known attempt of the English to tamper with them was under Sir Thomas Modyford, Governor of Jamaica, about 1667 [?]. His proceedings were not approved, and in 1670 [?] he was arrested and sent to England. The illicit trade in logwood and other things, from Campeche to the

Bay of Honduras and the Mosquito Country, had become so offensive to Spain — who feared that it might cover a permanent occupation — that she was induced to enter into the treaty of 1670, which yields to England the islands she had conquered in the West Indies, defines for the first time the respective rights of the parties, and has been made the basis of all subsequent treaties. This brings me to the second position of the British Government.

By the seventh article of the Treaty of Madrid, "it is agreed that the most serene King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors, shall have, hold, keep, and enjoy forever, with plenary right of sovereignty, dominion, possession, and propriety, all those lands, regions, islands, colonies, and places, whatsoever, being or situated in the West Indies, or any part of America, which the said King of Great Britain or his subjects *do at present hold and possess*." It is plainly of great importance to the present inquiry to determine what lands, regions, islands, colonies, or places King Charles or his subjects held or possessed in America on the conclusion of that treaty.

Now, it is evident that this article was inserted in the treaty to determine a previous conflict of claims to sovereignty by the fact of existing possession, and that, where the claims of the parties had not come in conflict, it had no validity. Leaving out of view all the American continent to the north or south of Central America and the Indies, it is well known that the title to Jamaica was in dispute, and that this article was expressly inserted to settle it by confirming England's occupation. Had it any reference, beyond that, to Mosquito? After the preceding review I think I am warranted in saying it had not: because, in the first place, I am unable to find that the sovereignty had ever been in dispute; and because, in the second place, the only possession approaching a hostility to Spanish right was that of the Buccaneers, composed of all nations, — which was not continuous, which was piratical and therefore clearly illegal, which was disavowed by England and therefore cannot inure to her, and which was made in admission of Spain's title, since it was a war upon Spain.

And further: Great Britain does not now claim ever to have "held" or "possessed" Mosquito. To adopt a little of Lord Palmerston's severity of criticism on the language of treaties, I say that the terms "hold" and "possess" have defi-

nite meanings in international law ; that they imply title, either temporary — as in the case of violent occupation in the time of war — or permanent, to which occupation is not a necessary incident. The claim under which Great Britain shelters the illegal occupation of Mosquito by the English is not set up in itself, but in a monarch of its creation, who is alleged to reign under its protection.

The political relation of protector and protected is not a new one. It grows out of contract. It implies sovereignty in each party ; for, when the sovereignty of the lesser merges in that of the greater, the peculiar relation ceases. Any occupation, therefore, by the English, at any time, must have been (by their own showing) as under Mosquito. Any possession must have been the possession of Mosquito. And when that possession is demonstrated to be not adverse to, but under Spain, their title, being that of a privy in estate, must take the same course.

Any light in which we view this claim presents a tissue of inconsistencies. To defeat the Spanish title, it is alleged that the Indians are an independent nation whom Spain could never conquer ; while, on the other hand, to let in Great Britain to the benefit of such a defeat, it is said that her protection is necessary to enable them to protect themselves against the Spaniard. Either they are an independent nation, capable of existing without this protection, and therefore not entitled to it, or the aid has been rendered in bad faith, to maintain a tribe of savages in revolt against their sovereign.

The contemporaneous construction of the treaty of Madrid shows that the right of Spain to the whole of Central America was not questioned. Sir William Godolphin, the ambassador to Spain who negotiated and signed the treaty on the part of Great Britain on the 10th — 20th May, 1672, wrote to Lord Arlington from Madrid as follows : —

" Your Lordship hath required my opinion touching the cutting of logwood in the West Indies by some English, on pretence that the parts where they take the same are not inhabited or possessed by the Spaniards. . . . In answer, . . . the said wood is brought from Yucatan, a large province of New Spayne, extending into the North Sea like to a peninsula, about a hundred leagues in length, sufficiently peopled in respect of other places of those Indies, haveing several good towns, as

Merida, Valladolid, San Francisco de Campeche, etc., the government thereof being likewise esteemed one of the most considerable there, next to the two vice-royaltyes of Peru and Mexico. . . . Now, this wood, growing on the northern coast of Yucatan, . . . is commonly called here, Campeche wood. . . . This being premised, we may reasonably conclude the crowne of Spayne to have as well too much right as advantage in these woods not to assert the propriety of them; for though, perhaps, they are not all inhabited (which is not to be admired) or distinguished into particular tenements, but remaine in common, yet they are in generall possessed by these people, who may as justly pretend to make use of our rivers, mountains, and other commons, for not being inhabited or owned by individual proprietors, as we can to enjoy any benefitt of those woods.

"And this is the sense of all the Spaniards, who esteeme themselves in full possession of every part of that province, notwithstanding that it containeth much territory unpeopled, since (as I have said) to inhabit and possesse are distinct; neither is the former essentiall to the latter.

. . . . . .

"Lastly, what will render the pretension to a freedome of cutting this wood more odious to the Spaniards is, that in consequence thereof, and for the same reason, wee may inferre a liberty to inhabit there, opening a doore to any further attempt wee may designe against theire continent.

. . . . . .

"Thus much to the merritts of the cause and the point of strict justice.

"But now, after all this, I will venture to give my opinion that if the English, in the cutting wood at Campeche, would restrain themselves to that alone, observing to doe it in parts neerest to the sea, more remote from their townes, . . . and without making inroads or other depredations on the country, it may be adviseable for His Majy, though not to authorize, yet to connive; . . . sure, for when they (the Spaniards) see the American treaty in other points punctually complyed with, and no other spoyle committed than the bare cutting of that wood, . . . they may be induced to connive likewise."

When it is remembered that, up to this time, all geographers conceded, or rather never doubted, the right of Spain to the whole

of this part of the continent; that that right had been intruded on only by the Buccaneers; and that these intrusions had been confined to Yucatan and its neighborhood, and had not yet extended as far south as Mosquito, which was a part of New Spain, of which "the Spaniards then esteemed themselves in full possession of every part," the completeness of the testimony will be understood, and its almost prophetic nature appreciated. And I am prepared to show, in addition, that the connivance of the governors of Jamaica in such cutting and encroachments was encouraged and approved in London.

I shall now assume it to be clearly proved that in 1670, while the English had no right, either directly or indirectly, in Mosquito, Spain held undoubted sovereignty over it; and shall travel forward to the year 1739, when hostilities commenced between Great Britain and Spain, during which a permanent occupation of this country by the former power was for the first time attempted. Most of the acts of occupation or protection (for they sometimes take the one form and sometimes the other) on the part of England, took place between this date and the Peace of Paris, in 1763, and were either done during a time of hostilities, or were themselves causes of a subsequent war. It is plain, therefore, that, being aggressive, they cannot now be used by Great Britain to set up the alleged title in the Indians.

On the 19th of October, 1739, war was declared against Spain, ostensibly because she had neglected to pay the paltry balance of £95,000, according to treaty; but the real object of the British colonists appears to have been to gain a stronger footing in the West Indies before concluding a peace. On the 17th of August, 1740, Sir William Pulteney, of the admiralty, wrote to Admiral Vernon, then in the West Indies, a long letter detailing the plans of the government. He says: —

"To ravage the coast of Spain (supposing we could do it) seems to be with a desire only of forcing the Spaniards into a peace before we have secured such advantages as we may reasonably hope for in another place. Every man of sense agrees that the only place to push them in is the West Indies; and there we can be too hard for them, and may defy the whole world besides. . . . We [England], one and all, cry out, there is no dependence on the faith of treaties; something must be done to keep the Spaniards from insulting us again; and we must no

longer rely on bare promises only for the security of our navigation and commerce. Take and hold, is the cry. This plainly points to Cuba. . . . It [the taking of Carthagena] might be a very sensible mischief to Spain; but what we now immediately want is advantage to ourselves.

. . . . . .

"When we are once possessed of it [Cuba] the whole world will not be able to dispossess us again. We may then make peace with Spain without the intervention of France, giving them almost everything in Europe they may desire, but, showing them, at the same time, they shall in great measure depend on us, the chief maritime power, and convincing them of the truth of their own old proverb: *Peace with England, and war with the whole world.*"

During the years 1739 and 1740 many projects were framed for the purpose of gaining the desired footing in the West Indies, — for the accounts of the wonderful details of which we are indebted to the principal actors in them, many of whose most confidential letters, owing to private quarrels, have been published. In addition to these, I have been permitted to examine the original Vernon and Wager manuscripts, a collection embodying, in the original, official as well as private letters of the Duke of Newcastle, of Sir Charles Wager, of Admiral Vernon, of Sir William Pulteney, of Governor Trelawney, of Mr. Robert Hodgson, and of many others, — a mass of authentic information never published, and not existing anywhere else, unless in Her Majesty's State Paper Office. I am happy to say that this collection will probably go to America, as it is now owned by an American gentleman.

As soon as hostilities were determined upon, the Duke of Newcastle (on the 15th June, 1739) directed Governor Trelawney to be on his guard against any attempt of the Spaniards against Jamaica, and gave him full power and liberty to annoy the enemy. He directed him also to encourage the taking out letters of marque and reprisal against the Spaniards, and to authorize descents upon the Spanish settlements.

On the receipt of these orders Governor Trelawney at once revived the old scheme of the Mosquito Indians, and on the 20th of January, 1739–40, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle advising a settlement on the Mosquito Shore. About one hundred English-

men, he said, were there, "mostly such as could live nowhere else." He proposed to bring all the English in that quarter together in one settlement, so that, by the help of the Mosquito Indians, whom he calls his "friends," they might induce the neighboring Indians to revolt, and thus, by supporting the Indians "a little, spread the revolt from one part to another, till it should be general over the Indies, and drive the Spaniards entirely out, or cut them off." Accordingly, early in 1740, he commenced his Quixotic scheme by sending one Robert Hodgson to the Mosquito Shore, fully equipped with everything necessary to enable him to tamper with the Indians and excite them against the Spaniards. I am fortunately enabled to give, from the Vernon manuscripts, Mr. Hodgson's own account of what he did under this extraordinary commission.

Sandy Bay, April 8, 1740.

"May it please your Excellency, . . .

. . King Edward, being informed of my arrival, sent me word that he would see me the next day, which he did, attended by several of his captains. I read to him your Excellency's letter and my own commission, and, when I had explained them by an interpreter, told my errand, and recommended to them to seek all opportunities of cultivating friendship and union with the neighboring Indian nations, — and especially such as were under subjection to the Spaniards, — and of helping them to recover their freedom. They approved everything I said, and appointed the 16th to meet the governor, John Briton, and his captains, at the same place, to hear what I had further to say.

"On the 16th they all came, except Admiral Dilly and Colonel Morgan, who were sick. General Hobby and his captains were at too great a distance to be sent for; but, their presence not being material, I proceeded to acquaint them that, as they had long acknowledged themselves subjects of Great Britain, the Governor of Jamaica had sent me to take possession of their country in His Majesty's name; then asked if they had anything to object. They answered, they had nothing to say against it, but were very glad I was come for that purpose. So I immediately set up the standard, and, reducing the sum of what I had said into articles, I asked them, both jointly and separately, if they approved and would abide by them. They unanimously declared they would. So I had them read over again, in a solemn manner, under the colours; at the end of every article fired a gun; and concluded with cutting up a turf, and promising to defend their country,

and to procure them all the assistance and instruction from England in my power.

"The formality, all this was done with, seemed to have a good influence upon them, for they often repeated their desire of learning to read, and said they must now mind their kings more than they had done, and do all they could to help themselves and hurt the Spaniards, to whom I recommended all the mercy that was consistent with their own safety; but they seemed not to understand me rightly, saying, if they fight they must kill. The articles I enclose, and hope your Excellency will excuse so much ceremony; for, as I had no certain information whether the country was ever taken possession of before, or ever claimed otherwise than by sending them down commissions, I thought the more voluntary and clear the cession of it was, the better. The governor came, attended with a numerous guard, who behaved to him with much respect and *silence*. [?] He is a sensible old man, and carries a good command. The king, being very young, — I believe not twenty, — is not much observed; but was he to be awhile in Jamaica or England, 't is thought he would make a hopeful monarch enough.

. . . . . .

"The same day Admiral Dilly and Colonel Morgan sent me word they were coming to wait on me. I immediately crossed the lagune to meet them, hearing they were sensible, clever fellows; and such I found them. They had despatched a message to the Governor to meet them the next day to hold a general and decisive council.

"They all met on Sunday the 23rd, at Senock Dawkra (Mr. Whitehead's house). The governor, being sick, tried our patience by making us wait till the afternoon, but, when he came, made ample amends by the justness of his sentiments.

"He told the king and his captains it was plain they had got a name and the good opinion of the Governor of Jamaica (whose success against the rebellious negroes they had all heard of); and, if they did not keep it up, what would the world say of them? There was an officer now sent down by your Excellency to observe their manner of fighting, and, if they did not do their best, they should lose the favor of the English. It was true they were but a small number of people compared to us, who had men to spare for sickness and the sword; but, if they showed themselves worthy, no doubt the King of Britain would send a force sufficient to get them all they wanted, besides teachers to instruct them in what is right and good. He said General Hobby had often talked about taking towns in time of peace, and called the English cowards; now it was war, they must

show they were not such themselves; that the English were the best judges when war or peace was proper; and none of them had any business to act otherwise than they were directed by the Governor of Jamaica. . . .

"I find my counsel about sobriety has had some weight with the old men; but the young ones are got together there since, with the women, into drinking bouts. They intoxicate themselves with a liquor made of honey, pineapples, and cassada; and, if they avoid quarrels, which often happen, they are sure to have fine promiscuous doings among the girls. The old women, I am told, have the liberty of chewing the cassada before it is put in, that they may have a chance in the general rape as well as the young ones.

"I fell into one of them by mere accident last Monday, where I found Admiral Dilley and Colonel Morgan retailing my advice among them to little effect; for most of them were too drunk to mind it, and so hideously painted that I quickly left them, to avoid being daubed all over, — which is the compliment they usually pay their visitors on those occasions.

"Those two captains complain much of their drinking, but say it has been taught them by the English; others say not, for how should the English invent the pine and cassada drink? Their resentment of adultery has lost its edge, too, more than among other Indians. That, I make no doubt, they are obliged to us for. Their breach of promises in their bargains, I take to be a good deal owing to a sense of being defrauded by traders; but, through their ignorance of numbers and value, not being able to tell how, they are apt to make improper reprisals. As for their laziness, the grand promoter of the rest, I really think it must have been owing to their discontent at the usage they have received from privateers and others, because I do not find it has been epidemical amongst them till lately.

. . . . . .

"I have disposed of several presents; but their returns being chiefly in visits to get more, or to drink punch, I have stopped my hand. The Lubec duck, osnaburgs, powder, ball, flints, and shot, I shall divide among them at setting out, with a promise that they shall pay me according to their behavior or their plunder. . . .

Robert Hodgson.

April 12, 1740.

"P. S. Had I been better informed, I might have made a little fortune out of your Excellency's money, and done more justice to the cause; for the Moskito men have not got half guns enough, so must be

supplied by Stewart and the other white men that go with us, who, no doubt, will make them pay sound." . . .

The origin, character, history, and results of the British intrigues in this quarter are all disclosed in this letter. They originated in public and private cupidity, in the desire of territorial aggrandizement, and of personal gain to the Governor of Jamaica. They were pursued in the same spirit, by the distribution of intoxicating liquors and missiles of destruction among the savages, and by exciting them to an unnatural war against the Spaniards. They resulted in the complete degradation of the Indians themselves, a degradation which they have never been able to shake off. Yet this is the "protection" Great Britain sets up and seeks to perpetuate.

Mr. Hodgson skilfully aroused the old resentment of the Indians against the Spaniards, and induced them to join him in an expedition which proved a failure. He, however, remained among them, and was instructed by Governor Trelawney "to endeavor to persuade the Indians to form themselves into some sort of a government."

Meanwhile the home government had the scheme under consideration, and approved of it. But Sir Charles Wager had fallen in with another adventurer, named Lee, and wrote to Admiral Vernon from the admiralty office as follows, under date May 23, 1741: "I sent Governor Trelawney, by the last ships, some accounts I had from one Captain Lee, who was sometime a factor to the South Sea Company at Guatimalla, of the particular situation, riches, and trade of that part of the continent, which is much more than I imagined. The Governor's Don Quixotte, Mr. Hodgson, seemed to want this Captain Lee with him, and I could have seen him, had it not been for some difficulties; but I had his scheme in writing, and sent it to Plymouth, but the ships were gone before it came there."

Again, on the 18th of August following, he wrote to the Admiral thus: "I sent you by the last ships a scheme of Captain Lee for a proper number of soldiers, when they can be spared, or can do nothing more considerable, to go down to the Musquitos, and, with or without them, to make attempt on the Spaniards up the River Dulce, where Captain Lee seems perfectly acquainted. But, as we have made him captain of the *Bonetta* sloop, purely for the sake of this scheme only, I refer you to him for a clear explica-

tion of the whole scheme, which, in its consequences, may be much more considerable than it appears at first sight; for, if we can procure a sufficient number of arms for the Indians who are able and willing, as he says, to pay for them, — though that is not material, — they would soon make themselves their own masters, and drive all the Spaniards out of the country, or change conditions with them, and make them the hewers of wood and drawers of water. And this, I think, they may do, if supplied with arms and all things necessary, *more easily than the Spaniards conquered them* [the italics are mine, except the word Spaniards], for if once there was a considerable insurrection of the Indians about Guatimalla and that country, in which the Musquito men may perhaps be persuaded to join with them, there would soon be an insurrection both in Mexico and Peru, — of which the Spanish Court has been very much afraid, especially in Peru and Chili, where it is not improbable but the Creole Spaniards would soon join with them, and set up a king of their own."

Again, on the 20th of the same month, and still again on the 7th of October following, he wrote to Admiral Vernon, reiterating these views in almost the same language. These letters, as well as that of Mr. Hodgson, expose the manner and the object of the British tampering with the Indians.

In 1743 these "schemes" had so far progressed that Governor Trelawney recommended that a company of troops should be kept at the Mosquito Shore, and that some sort of government should be established there. And the Governor encouraged emigration there, and tried to get permission from the government to grant lands, and thus induce settlement; but the Board of Trade did not approve of this.

On the 19th of July, 1744, notwithstanding the discouraging report of the Board of Trade as to the rights of Spain, an order passed the council detaching a certain number of troops from Jamaica for the Mosquito Shore, and providing for the erection of forts and the establishment of a government. In February, 1748, there was another order in council for sending a supply of ordnance to the "new settlement on the Mosquito Shore," to the amount of £1,528. 18*s*. 7*d*.

The fort at Black River was completed in 1747, so that Governor Trelawney was confident that, should the Spaniards make a

descent upon the Mosquito Shore, as was expected, in the summer of 1748, it "would be able not only to defend itself, but to annoy the enemy."

During all this time (*i. e.*, from 1739 to the Peace of Aix la Chapelle) I do not learn that the Spaniards made any direct attempt to dislodge the English from the Mosquito Shore, except by an expedition from Nicaragua in 1747, which was a failure. The reason was, they were busily engaged in more important places.

Matters were not changed by this peace. The English gained no new rights. They nevertheless determined to maintain their settlement, and in October, 1749, the King appointed Captain Hodgson "to regulate and superintend the settlement on the Mosquito Shore, which has been subsisting several years under the protection of our friends and allies, the Mosquito Indians." Captain Hodgson was to put himself under the direction of the Governor of Jamaica, and to correspond with him. One cannot but admire the facility with which the relation of the Indians shifts from protectors to protected, to suit the exigencies of the case.

In 1750 and 1751 the Spanish authorities remonstrated against these proceedings, asserted their rights, and threatened an expulsion of the English. Governor Trelawney, alarmed at the aspect of affairs, sent Hodgson an artful set of instructions for his conduct towards the Indians, which were to be shown to the President of Guatemala, to cause him to believe that the object of the English in keeping a superintendent among the Indians was to restrain them in their hostilities against the Spaniards; but, upon their being presented to him, he protested against the English interference, and proposed sending a Spanish agent or governor among the Indians. In reply Hodgson wrote to him, on the 3rd of December, 1750, that he was already there as a superintendent, appointed by the Governor of Jamaica to protect the Spaniards, as they could not protect themselves, and asserted that the Indians were free, never having been conquered by Spain.

In 1751 an attack by the Spaniards was apprehended at the Shore; but only a missionary was sent among the Indians, named Juan Joseph Solis de Meranda, who reported that hostilities would not be commenced if he were allowed to remain among the Indians. This was at first granted; but the English soon

perceiving the influence he was gaining over the natives, to their great prejudice, arrested him, under pretence of his being an impostor, and sent him to Jamaica. It now came to the knowledge of the Governor of Jamaica that the Spaniards were making preparations for invading the Mosquito Shore, and driving the English from it. The settlers became alarmed, and demanded that the detachment of soldiers should be withdrawn. The Governor, on his part, proposed that the fort should be demolished, rather than give umbrage to the Spaniards.

In 1752 Governor Knowles succeeded Governor Trelawney. He took a different view of the rights of the Mosquito Indians, restored Father Solis, and seemed determined to expose these transactions. He entered into a correspondence with the Governor of Guatemala, and proposed a cessation of hostilities till he could hear from England. On the 26th of March, 1753, he wrote to the Secretary of State that the settlement on the Mosquito Shore was "a job;" that, if Captain Hodgson was not checked or recalled, he "would involve the nation in difficulties;" that the Indians were so perplexed they did "not know which part to take;" and that he should advise withdrawing the troops, unless the ministry intended to maintain the right to the territories, which he thought was not worth contending about.

During Governor Knowles's administration the condition of things improved, but he was not allowed to remain long. On his departure they fell back into the old channel, the English covertly acting the part of aggressors, the Spaniards resisting by protest and by force, until the Treaty of Paris in 1763; except that in 1759 the Indians took up arms against the English, being discontented with their treatment of them and disgusted with the course of Captain Hodgson; and except, also, that this latter year was signalized by a communication from the Board of Trade, ignoring the existence of any British settlement on the Mosquito Shore, and declining, therefore, to entertain complaints against officers of the crown for acts done there.

The Treaty of Paris assumes to define the respective rights of the parties in Central America. By Article 18 it is provided that "His Britannic Majesty shall cause to be demolished all fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the Bay of Honduras, *and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world*," etc.; and then the right is given to the English to cut log-

wood on the "Spanish coasts and territories." In accordance with this provision, all the British fortifications in Mosquito were demolished, and the troops removed: but the settlers remained both there and in Honduras, for the purpose of cutting and carrying away logwood, and marking their residence by repeated aggressions similar to those already described, — which I can give you in detail, if you desire it. In 1783, at the close of the contests which accompanied the American Revolution, it was found necessary to define more particularly the rights of the English cutters, which is accordingly done by the 6th Article of the Treaty of Versailles, where it is provided that "the intention of the two high contracting parties being to prevent, as much as possible, all the causes of complaint and misunderstanding heretofore occasioned by the cutting of wood for dyeing, or logwood, and several English settlements having been formed and extended under that pretence upon *the Spanish Continent*, it is expressly agreed that His Britannic Majesty's subjects shall have the right of cutting," etc., (defining the limits about the Belize within which the right might be exercised): "and His Catholic Majesty assures to them the enjoyment of all that is expressed within the present article, *provided that these stipulations shall not be considered as derogating in anywise from his right of sovereignty.*" And then it was provided that, within eighteen months from the ratification, the English should wholly retire from the Spanish continent and islands, to the spot allotted to them. This the English were understood, at the time, to have received as a compensation for abandoning Mosquito.

It is now claimed by Great Britain that, before the conclusion of this treaty, Mosquito had become an independent nation, and therefore was not embraced within its provisions. The argument upon which this is founded involves the consideration of the English title.

Starting from the position that the Indians had never been conquered, and therefore were not within Spanish jurisdiction (the fallacy of which I have already shown), all English writers rely on these, and only these, circumstances to establish the Mosquito protectorate, — all of which are stated by Lord Palmerston in his note to M. Castellon of July 16, 1849: 1st. A submission by the Mosquito King to the Governor of Jamaica, on behalf of the King of England, in 1687, founded on an alleged

prior submission between 1645 and 1660. 2nd. A convention between the Governor of Jamaica and the King of the Mosquitos, concluded June 25, 1720. 3rd. Certain reports and resolutions made in 1774 in the House of Assembly of Jamaica.

To all this I might reply that the Mosquitos could not of themselves change their political connection; that, not being an independent nation, all acts done by them as such are void; that the demolition of fortifications shows England's construction of the Treaty of Paris; and that the Treaty of Versailles uses the broad language of the "*Spanish Continent*," and affirms Spanish sovereignty. Without dwelling upon these apparent considerations, I turn to the authorities relied upon for these positions.

And as to the first, I find that all writers refer for proof to an account of the matter given by Sir Hans Sloane, who was in Jamaica at the time of the alleged submission to the Duke of Albemarle, the Governor, and was his family physician, and of course in a position to know all about it. The authority most often cited is a memoir by Bryan Edwards, entitled "Some account of the British settlements on the Mosquito Shore, drawn up for the use of Government in 1773." The history of this memoir is a little curious. It purports to have been drawn up for the use of Government in 1773. It was printed anonymously, and was, in 1776, laid before Parliament, with the case of the *Morning Star*, to which I shall soon allude. The treaties of 1783 and 1786 having been concluded, the subject dropped. Twenty years afterwards Mr. Edwards published his "History of the West Indies," in one of the foot-notes to which he stated that, *the settlements in Mosquito having been surrendered to Spain by the Treaty of* 1786, it did not come within the plan of his work to treat of them, but referred all curious on the subject to this memorial. In 1819, in the fifth edition of his history (the first published after his death), this memorial was for the first time printed with the history, and under his name. It is now reproduced by the Foreign Office in the "correspondence," etc., on this subject, submitted to Parliament in 1848. That you may see how history has been perverted, I give you, in parallel columns, what Sir Hans Sloane really did say (copied from his printed history), and what Mr. Edwards represents him as saying.

Sir Hans Sloane.

"One King Jeremy came from the Muskitos (an Indian people near the provinces of Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica); he pretended to be a king there, and came from the others of his country to beg of the Duke of Albemarle, Governor of Jamaica, his protection, and that he would send a governor thither with a power to war on the Spaniards and pirates. This he alleged to be due to his country from the crown of England, who had, in the reign of King Charles I., submitted itself to him. The Duke of Albemarle did nothing in this matter, being afraid it might be a trick of some people to set up a government for Buccaneers or pirates. This King Jeremy, in coming to town, asking many questions about the island, and not receiving, as he thought, a satisfactory account, he pulled off his European clothes his friends had put on, and climbed to the top of a tree to take a view of the country.

"The memorial and substance of what he and the people with him represented to the Duke of Albemarle was, that in the reign of Charles I., of ever-blessed memory, the Earl of Warwick (by virtue of letters of reprisal granted by his said Majesty for damages received from the subjects of His Catholic Majesty) did possess himself of several islands in the West Indies, particularly that of Providence (since called by the

Mr. Edwards.

"'The memorial and substance,' says Sir Hans, 'of what he (the Mosquito king) and the people with him represented to the Duke of Albemarle was, that in the reign of Charles I. the Earl of Warwick, by virtue of letters of reprisal, possessed himself of several islands in the West Indies, particularly that of Providence (since called by the Spaniards St. Catalina), which is situated 13° 10′ north latitude, lying east

Spaniards St. Catalina), which is situate in 13° 10′ north latitude, lying east from Cape Gracias de Dios (vulgarly known by the name of the Muskitos), between thirty and forty leagues, which put the said Earl upon trying all ways and means of future correspondence with the natives of the said cape and neighboring country, and, in some little time, was so successful as to gain that point, and further prevailed with them so far as to persuade them to send home the king's son, leaving one of his people as hostage for him, which was Colonel Morris, now living at New York. The Indian prince, going home with the said Earl, stayed in England three years, in which time the Indian king died; and the said natives, having in that time had intercourse of friendship and commerce with those of Providence, were soon made sensible of the grandeur of His Majesty of Great Britain, and how necessary his protection was to them. Upon the return of the said Indian prince, they persuaded him to resign up his authority and power over them, and (with them) unanimously declare themselves the subjects of his said Majesty of Great Britain; in which opinion they have ever since persisted, and do own no other supreme command over them."

from Cape Gracias a Dios (vulgarly known by the name of the Mosquitos), between thirty and forty leagues, which put the said Earl upon all ways and means of future correspondence with the natives of the said cape and neighboring country; and, in some little time, he was so successful as to gain that point, and prevailed with them so far as to persuade them to send home the king's son, leaving one of his people as hostage for him, which was Colonel Morris, now living at New York. The Indian prince, going home with the said Earl, staid in England three years, in which time the Indian king died; and the natives, having in that time had intercourse and commerce with those of Providence, were soon made sensible of the grandeur of His Majesty of Great Britain, and how necessary his protection was to them. Upon the return of the said Indian prince, they persuaded him to resign up his authority and power over them, and, with them, unanimously declare themselves the subjects of his said Majesty of Great Britain; in which opinion,' continues Sir Hans, 'they have ever since persisted, and do own no other supreme command over them.'"

I am sure you will agree with me that a worse perversion of history than this can scarcely be found elsewhere. The original authority, when produced, states expressly that the Duke of

Albemarle did nothing in the matter. Mr. Edwards suppresses the fact that Lord Warwick's expedition was hostile to Spain; and the opinion attributed to Sir Hans, at the close of the extract, is found to be not his, but the language of the memorial.

But I am able to go a step further in the history of this curious title, and show the equivalent which the Indian Esau received for his birthright. In a pamphlet first published in 1699 (eight years before the publication of Sir Hans Sloane), and afterwards republished in the sixth volume of Churchill's "Voyages," containing an account of the Mosquito Shore from a very intelligent person, evidently well acquainted from observation, is the following passage: "He [the King] says that his father, Old Man, King of the Mosquito men, was carried over to England soon after the conquest of Jamaica, and there received from his brother king a crown and commission, which the present *Old Jeremy* still keeps safely by him, *which is but a cocked hat, and a ridiculous piece of writing that he should kindly use and relieve such straggling Englishmen as should choose to come that way with plantains, fish, and turtle, etc.*" The words which I have italicized in the latter part of this extract need no comment.

As to the second fact now alleged, I have only to say that the "convention" is published in the Mosquito correspondence submitted to Parliament in 1848, and, so far from proving any sovereignty in the Indians, shows the contrary. It is neither treaty nor convention; it is a *contract* between King Jeremy, on the one side, signed with "his mark," and Governor Lawes on the other, *sealed with the private seals of both parties*, by which the King contracts to furnish fifty men to hunt negroes, and the Governor to pay for them and give them "rum" enough for their voyage home, — very similar to the contract made subsequently with the Spanish hunters of Cuba for the employment of bloodhounds for the same purpose. This is not the mode in which high contracting parties usually deal with each other. Any argument deduced from it is founded in an ignorance of the distinction between a sovereignty in the soil and a dominion over the persons of the savages composing the tribe.

As to the third fact, without stopping to dwell on its *ex parte* character, I have reason to think that the move was made in Jamaica, at the instance, among others, of this Mr. Edwards, who drew up, to further it, the memorial above alluded to. To

show how little the Government at home entered into it, in 1776, a vessel called the *Morning Star* with certain Indians on board, who had been to England to aid in putting down the practice of selling the Indians into slavery, was seized by two Spanish *guarda costa* on its return to Mosquito. The owners brought the subject before Parliament, presenting, with their petition, Mr. Edwards's memorial. After a long debate, in which it was asserted that the seizure was justifiable, as the treaty had been violated, Parliament refused to entertain the subject.

I have now examined the only evidence adduced in support of the English claim to a protectorate, and, unless I deceive myself, it dwindles into insignificance. I now resume the historical thread.

The English settlers were lax in conforming to the provisions of the Treaty of 1783, the territory allotted to them being found to be too small; and the eighteen months passed away without their removal. Spain began to complain of this infraction, and the result was the Treaty of 1786, which, besides enlarging the territory to be occupied by the English, and making various regulations about it, contains the following provisions: —

"I. His Britannic Majesty's subjects, and the other colonists who have hitherto enjoyed the protection of England, shall evacuate the country of the Mosquitos, etc.

"XI. . . . In this view, His Britannic Majesty engages to give the most positive orders for the evacuation of the countries above mentioned by all his subjects, of whatever denomination; but if, contrary to such declaration, there should still remain any persons so daring as to presume, by retiring into the interior country, to endeavor to obstruct the entire evacuation already agreed upon, His Britannic Majesty, so far from affording them the least succor, or even protection, will disavow them in the most solemn manner, as he will equally do those who may hereafter attempt to settle upon *the territory belonging to the Spanish dominion.*

"XIV. His Catholic Majesty, *prompted solely by motives of humanity,* promises to the King of England that he will not exercise any act of severity against the Mosquitos, inhabiting in part the countries which are to be evacuated by virtue of the present convention, on account of the connections which may have subsisted between the said Indians and the English."

This was looked upon as an abandonment by England. It was so avowed in Parliament in a debate on a motion to impeach the

Ministry. Bryan Edwards admits it in the foot-note cited above. The Mosquito settlers themselves considered it so, and put in a claim to Parliament for damages, which was allowed. Extracts from their statement of the grounds of their claim have found their way into the appendix to the Mosquito correspondence of 1848, under the title of "Extracts from McGregor's Commercial Tariffs, Part 17." Still later, in the "Quarterly Review" for October, 1822, Article VIII., in a review of a work on the Mosquito Shore by one Captain Strangeways, is the following strong language. After saying that "the whole of the Mosquito Shore and Honduras and the 'town' of Poyais have for many centuries belonged to Spain, and been considered as constituent portions of the kingdom of Mexico, not one foot of which was ever held by the English, except occasionally during a war by the Buccaneers, or more recently by the logwood cutters," and reviewing the treaties of 1783 and 1786, the writer says: "Nothing can more clearly establish the sole right of Spain to these territories than the treaty and convention above mentioned. We never had any business there. The simple fact is that the Mosquito Indians have always borne an inveterate dislike to the Spaniards. The Duke of Albemarle, when Governor of Jamaica, fostered that dislike, and invested one of the Indians with a commission as chief of the Mosquitos, under the protection of England, — a foolish ceremony, which was exercised long after by his successors, just as we now make King Toms and King Jacks among the negroes of Western Africa; but, if treaties are to be considered as at all binding, it is quite clear that we have not the right, nor even the permission, of residence on the Mosquito Shore, and that we cut logwood and mahogany on the shores of Honduras Bay only by sufferance." It is worthy of remark, that, in reply to the review published in 1823, is the admission that "this territory belongs to Spain."

I cannot better close the discussion, under the second general head, than in the emphatic language of this writer. I turn, therefore, to the position that the Central American States are not the heirs to Spain, on which I propose to add only a few suggestions to the conclusive argument contained in your No. 4, of October 20, 1849.

When the question is asked whether a person can inherit a certain estate, two inquiries must be satisfied before an answer

can be given: first, whether the estate is transmissible by inheritance; and, second, whether the party claiming has the qualities of heir. A like analysis is requisite here. After what has been said, I shall confidently assume, as to the estate, that the right of Spain was not dependent on treaties; that it went behind them and rested on discovery; that it was incident to the soil, and was only defined by the several treaties. This view would entirely preclude the necessity of considering whether or no the new State could avail itself of the treaty stipulations in favor of the old.

But I do not wish to be understood as desiring to waive any rights in Nicaragua or Honduras on that score. I think that would be very unwise. If Great Britain has, as you intimate, in recognizing the independence of Central America (though I am unable to find that she ever did formally recognize it), expressly reiterated her own rights, acquired by treaty, it is a fair ground for argument that the counter-rights are also established. I leave this, however, for the present, to confine myself to the single line of argument I have marked out, and shall then return for a moment to the more narrow question of what has become of the rights, if any, growing out of the treaties between England and Spain.

It is said that the Central American States, not having been formally and diplomatically recognized by Spain, cannot be the heirs to her rights.

I beg you to observe the use of the word "diplomatically" in this statement. It is indeed true that these States have not been "diplomatically" recognized as independent nations by Spain. For some time past, there has been no diplomatic intercourse between England and that power; and yet neither doubts the existence of the other. From the hour the independence of the vice-royalty of Guatemala was proclaimed to this, there has not been a Spanish soldier, a Spanish civilian, or a sign of Spanish authority, on the isthmus. The revolution was bloodless, instantaneous, and complete. The new federation was welcomed into the family of nations by the United States. Within four years Mr. Canning wrote to the Spanish minister in London, and to the British minister at Madrid, and reiterated his views in a conference with Prince Polignac, that separation and the maintenance of a *de facto* government were sufficient grounds for recognition of independence; that it would be idle to call that Spain's pos-

session where Spain had no possession; and that Great Britain had the right to form such relations as she pleased with the Spanish-American States. In 1825 the union they had formed was severed, but the several States continued to maintain diplomatic agents at the European courts. And in 1836 the Cortes of Spain authorized the government to conclude a treaty with the new American States, because "they considered the political situation of those States as an accomplished fact," and Don Angel de Castriciones was sent by Guatemala as an envoy to Madrid; but the government refused to receive him, only because he was empowered by an individual State, instead of the federation, and at the same time expressed their willingness to treat with *Central America*. Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Honduras are now represented at this court; while the recent acts of Mr. Chatfield have let the world know that the missions are returned. It is idle to play on the word "diplomatically," when such great interests are at stake. The English doctrine, carried to its legitimate result, is this: that, admitting the right to revolt for just causes (which all must), the act of revolution, while the independent revolters continue unrecognized by the old ruling power, destroys all old landmarks, and throws society into chaos; and that, pending a recognition, any given number of men may associate together, form a *de facto* government, and hold the land they stand upon, and no more. Such a view is neither comprehensive, just, nor in accordance with precedents. The people who revolted were the people forming the political fabric of the vice-royalty of Guatemala; the nation whose independence was recognized was the republic of Central America, proclaiming in its constitution its geographical identity with the ancient vice-royalty; the States now represented here were the members of that federation. That was no chaotic nation, these no chaotic States, but a nation and States having a political existence, geographical limits, and a known population. The vice-royalty of Guatemala did not throw off government, but changed governors. Its people assumed the right of governing inherently, instead of derivatively; of governing themselves, instead of being governed, — retaining their political geography entire.

This is no new doctrine. In 1581, the Low Countries, unable to endure longer the tyranny of Philip II., threw off the Spanish yoke, and, after a long and bloody war, obtained a truce for

many years; but their independence was not "diplomatically" recognized by Spain till the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Yet though Europe during this time was often convulsed with wars of aggrandizement, no statesman ever thought of claiming Holland as a waif.

In 1640, Portugal rejected the dominion of Spain, but its independence remained unacknowledged until 1688; yet no such results were claimed to flow from Spanish tardiness as we now see asserted.

When Texas separated itself from Mexico, a tribe of fierce Indians wandered over its northern frontier, who then and since have manifested hostility towards its settlers; but no one ever fancied that Texas was, therefore, circumscribed of the part they ranged over.

A yet stronger case may be found in our own history. Before the war which preceded the Treaty of Paris, Great Britain had claimed to extend her Atlantic colonies to the Mississippi, which France denied. The treaty yielded the right to England, and then the British Government manifested a desire to limit its "ancient establishments" to the mountains. When the negotiations were opened for terminating the war of the Revolution, Congress instructed Dr. Franklin and his associates to insist upon the Mississippi as our western boundary, — which they did successfully, though opposed by both the French and Spanish courts. It is worthy of remark, that each party insisted upon the principle that *the boundaries of the new States were to be determined by the colonial limits.* During the negotiations, it was asserted, and maintained by the successful result, that the Indians between the river and the mountains were not independent nations, but existed under the protecting sovereignty of the United States.

I think nothing can be clearer than that these examples establish two general principles, which, combined, determine this whole question: first, that the successful revolt of a colony does not change it political geography; and, secondly, that the Indian gains no right of domain by such revolt.

We hear of the rights and of the obligations of Spain in Central America, as if those rights were acquired in the same manner as those obligations were imposed. Those who talk so forget or overlook that it is England, not Spain, whose rights on that coast

are grounded on treaty stipulations. The Spanish claim rested on the romantic exploits of early adventurers and settlers, who established and maintained it under well-defined principles of public law. The King of Spain had no rights there as King of Spain. His title grew out of his sovereignty over Guatemala; and when that sovereignty ceased, the rights incident to it passed into the new dominant power as absolutely as did the dominion of Holland pass into the States-General, or the sovereignty of Portugal into the house of Braganza. It was the discoverer who won, and the settler who retained, the title; and when they severed this title from the Spanish crown, and became sovereigns in the place of subjects, of right, necessity, and by precedent, they became possessed of that which had vested in the crown only through them. I had marked for quotation several extracts from Mr. Livingston's instructions to Dr. Franklin with reference to the negotiation of the treaty of peace with Great Britain, which fully establish this doctrine; but the unexpected length of this communication precludes me from doing more than allude to them.

To ascertain the combined rights of these States (for I have purposely avoided their dissensions), we have only to ask what were the limits of Spanish rights under the empire. Having ascertained that, we know the rights of those who have inherited its soil and who now represent it in Central America.

If I have demonstrated that the sovereignty in Mosquito was clearly and unequivocally in Spain, independently of treaties; that it was, therefore, unaffected by treaties (except so far as acknowledged by them, or so far as the promise not to oppress the Indians); that it grew out of the relation between the European and the Indian, and followed the jurisdiction of the former; that it vested in the sovereign only through his connection with the colonist; and, therefore, when the European in the New World threw off his allegiance in the Old, it passed into him as perfect as it had existed before in his ancient monarch, vesting in the respective States as they had before been bounded under the crown, — if I have demonstrated this, I have no need to go further and touch upon any rights existing by virtue of the treaties of 1783 and 1786. And, indeed, I have used language to very little purpose if I have failed to convey my belief that no new rights were created by those instruments. They only exhibit a solemn

abandonment by England of a fictitious claim. But I should fail in completeness, should I neglect to notice the British construction of them.

I dismiss entirely Lord Palmerston's criticism upon language. Had he studied definitions yet more severely than he seems to have, he would have learned that a "frontier," in the limited sense he seeks to give it, is a mathematical line, astride which he would find it difficult to maintain a tribe of savages; and that when the term is extended to embrace the country in the vicinity of the line, it is equally just to go on either side. I pass by, too, his extraordinary argument that Mosquito did not belong to Spain because Spain promised to treat the Indians well, simply remarking that this promise is expressly stated to be "prompted solely by motives of humanity," which is an implied negative of the disclaimer of sovereignty.

The present English construction of those treaties and of the public law as to them is this, — that before them the sovereignty of Mosquito was disputed with Spain in favor of the Indians; that by them it was *ceded* to Spain; that Central America having revolted, but its independence not yet having been recognized by Spain, the ceded rights are lost to the latter power, without coming to the former; and that, therefore, England may revive the old Indian claim without giving just ground of offence to the people of Central America.

Now, the most obvious, pertinent, and conclusive reply to all this would be the repetition of the argument of fact, which destroys its basis. But it seems to me, in addition, that it is as untenable in theory as in fact. Admitting (for the sake of argument) that England did *cede* these rights to Spain, it is clear that she ceded them *to be enjoyed by the colonists.* The government, in that case, became, as it were, the trustee: the colony was the real beneficiary. Is it right to say that the grantor may rescind the gift while the beneficiary is in actual enjoyment of it, because the trustee neglects his trust? The general train of argument hitherto is also equally applicable to this case, and may be referred to without repeating it in detail. And after the course of Mr. Canning towards the republic of Central America, with a constitution embracing this very shore within its limits, it is a badge (to say the least) of injustice on the part of England now to claim that she had the right, while a new power for

which she professed friendship was struggling with an ancient ally, to step in and help herself, or a band of savages for her, to the territory in dispute.

In any aspect in which we view the question, we are forced to the same conclusion: that it is the European settler through whom and for whom such right is retained in the crown, and in whom it vests on the establishment of the independence of the colony. The relation of the Indian towards the white man is not graduated by the rise and fall of European dominion. Passing with the soil from monarch to monarch, from kingdom to colony, through all the gradations of change, the law of the stronger has decreed that he shall gain dominion by none. Nor do we do violence to any of the principles by which the republics of the isthmus have established their independence. So far from "practising oppression," or "imposing a yoke on the people of Mosquito;" so far from "imposing their [Spanish] rule on a people who had always been free," by an assertion of the principles I have endeavored to advocate in this note,—the people of Central America, in my judgment, could do these miserable savages no greater good than by exercising an active vigilance over them, guarding them against the rapacity of the English traders, setting them an example of the blessings of peace, temperance, and morality, and so leading them to become in fact that free people they are already in the fancies of many.

I have said nothing about the boundary disputes of Nicaragua and her neighbors. I have, however, made this also a subject of inquiry, and, without going into detail, send you herewith a rough map, on which I have located the boundaries about where I conceive the weight of authority fixes them.

I have now finished what I have to say on this subject. I have endeavored to consider it as concisely as possible, but have been forced by its very magnitude into an unexpected length. I have necessarily written hastily, and consequently imperfectly, as it was only on the arrival of the steamer, on the 16th instant, that I determined to reduce these materials to form, and send them to you: and I was anxious they should go at once, that you might receive them in the earliest possible stage of the negotiation.

I have endeavored to examine this question historically and theoretically. I have tried to measure it by the standards of fact

and of law. And in whatever aspect I view it, I am more and more convinced of the justice of my conclusions.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.[1]

The Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

V.

MR. LAWRENCE TO MR. CLAYTON.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, 7th June, 1850.

SIR, — I had not the honor of receiving any communication from you by the last mail.

Since my despatch of last week, I have had an interview with Lord Palmerston upon the subject of establishing some form of government over the Mosquito Territory. He informed me that Sir Henry Bulwer had instructions to propose (as I have already acquainted you) a plan, giving to the Indians a specific territory over which they may exercise sovereignty, placing San Juan in the hands of Costa Rica, etc. You have doubtless learned all this from Sir Henry Bulwer.

The boundaries between Costa Rica and Nicaragua ought to be settled at once; and I can now see no way in which this can be done except through the good offices, mediation, or arbitration of Great Britain and the United States. Lord Palmerston appears to be much pleased with the treaty, and says it will be satisfactory to this Government. I touched upon the distance from the shore where captures should be valid on the ocean. He asked me whether I had come to any conclusion on that point. I answered that I had not, but it had occurred to me (without, however, consulting any one) that about one hundred and fifty miles should be the distance. To this he rejoined that it seemed reasonable, but he would consult naval men — the Lords of the Admiralty — on that point. I am inclined to believe that every nation in Europe will join in this treaty of guarantee. To the United States will belong the honor of having taken the first

[1] The Vernon Papers, referred to and quoted from by Mr. Lawrence in the above Despatch, were purchased by Mr. Peter Force, and afterward by Congress. — H. A. H.

step in this great international work, and of having brought together the different nations of the earth for its accomplishment. Great Britain now desires to finish everything relating to Central America, so far as the United States are concerned. All its agents will be withdrawn from the Mosquitos. Yet I cannot but fear that British subjects will undertake to protect the Mosquito King, if the sovereignty over any portion of Central America is left vested in him, and that hereafter we may have trouble through American traders, who will visit Bluefields and other parts of the Territory. You have better means of information than I on this point. If you have not already provided against this, I hope that, by a supplemental treaty, you will define exactly the respective rights of the several parties claiming upon the Isthmus, so that the possibility of future difficulty may be avoided.

I have the honor, etc.,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

The Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

VI.

INTERNATIONAL POSTAGE.

MR. LAWRENCE TO MR. WEBSTER.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, 24th October, 1851.

SIR, — On the 8th of August last, in my despatch No. 126, I had the honor to transmit a copy of a note to Lord Palmerston, on the subject of the execution of the twelfth article of the Letter Post Convention, between the United States and Great Britain, of the 15th of December, 1848. In that note, in addition to the reasons set forth in my note of the 18th October, 1850, to Lord Palmerston, and in my letters and verbal communications to Lord Clanricarde, I spoke, under instructions from the Postmaster-General, of the altered state of our postal arrangements since July 1st, 1851, in favor of the United Kingdom, and of the late reduction in the German rates, of the benefit of which the United States is deprived in consequence of the high rate for transit through England ; and I concluded by renewing the proposition made in my note of the 18th October. I have now the honor to enclose a copy of Lord Palmerston's reply, declining the proposition.

I cannot but think that on an examination of the provisions of the postal convention of December, 1848, and of the correspondence on this subject, transmitted to the Department both by my predecessor and myself, the Government will agree with me that the proposition now declined is just, is what we ought to demand if we intend to preserve anything like reciprocity in our postal arrangements with the United Kingdom, and ought to have been accepted by this Government. I therefore most reluctantly, and with entire deference to the better judgment of the President, request to be instructed at once to give the requisite notice to annul the Convention of December, 1848. Our continental cor-

respondence, already very great, is daily increasing by the continued emigration from Germany and other continental States. The correspondence between the United States and United Kingdom, particularly with Ireland, has become of vast importance to the citizens of the United States, and is likely to go on increasing for many years to come. In view of these facts, I respectfully suggest that it would be expedient and just to effect a large reduction in the ocean postage between the two countries.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

The Honorable DANIEL WEBSTER,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

VII.

MR. LAWRENCE TO MR. WEBSTER.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, May 7, 1852.

SIR, — I have had the honor to address you on several occasions on the subject of our postal arrangements, and to transmit my correspondence with this Government relative to the rate charged for the transit of postal matter in closed bags through England to France. In my despatch, No. 134, of the 24th October last, and in some others of a subsequent date and in private letters to the Postmaster-General, I expressed the opinion that the postal rates between the United States and the United Kingdom were too high and should be reduced. About four tenths of the postage between the two countries is paid in Ireland, and the ratio is steadily increasing in consequence of the large Irish population in the United States and the emigration still going forward. The revenue derived from this branch of the postal service is no longer principally of a commercial character, but is obtained to a large extent from the correspondence of the most indigent classes of society. The tax falls mainly upon the adopted citizens of the United States, or upon those who have sought our shores with the expectation of becoming citizens. The present ocean rate for letters is heavy and very dispropor-

tionate to the low inland rates adopted both in the United States and the United Kingdom. It is a great impediment in the way of the free correspondence so important to the moral and material interests of the United States.

I am unable to understand why a half-ounce letter should be transported three thousand miles in the United States (often in coaches, wagons, or on the backs of horses) at a charge of three cents, or to any part of the United Kingdom at a charge of two cents, while the rate for transporting the same letter by ship (much the cheapest mode of conveyance known) the same distance across the ocean is sixteen cents. I have thought, in view of the great advantages enjoyed under our system of cheap postage in the United States, and the long and happy experience in this country of the workings of a similar system, that the present time might not be deemed unfavorable for proposing to extend it to the ocean. I had supposed that probably this would not be considered a financial question by the Government of the United States, but one of a deeper interest to the people. Considering the vast extent of our country, the character of its inhabitants, its Constitution, its laws, its free institutions, and the great and growing numbers of British-born persons among us, cheap postage between the two countries must produce the most beneficial results. We have much to gain and nothing to lose by adopting it. Our security for the preservation of our popular institutions rests upon the enlightenment of the people and the extension of knowledge. Perhaps nothing does more to diffuse that knowledge than the constant correspondence which takes place among the people of the United States; and were it extended to these islands a corresponding advantage would be gained, as well as a broader foundation laid for the maintenance of amicable and happy relations between the two Governments.

After our experience in the great increase of correspondence consequent upon the reduction of the inland rates of postage, there cannot, I think, be much doubt that a corresponding increase would take place, were a reduction made in the sea-rates between this country and the United States. It would seem that the Treasury of the United States is in a condition to try this experiment, if it be an experiment. During the first two or three years perhaps some aid from the Treasury will be required; but it seems to me that the amount, which may be temporarily neces-

sary, will be of small consequence compared with the immense benefits to result from it.

If anything is to be done immediately in this matter, the example must be set in the United States. I think that the great body of the people of this country are in favor of the change; but I have some doubt whether the Government will not view the question entirely in a financial light, and be unwilling to make any sacrifice. They maintain a steam navy in part by their high ocean postal rates to almost every part of the globe.

During the great Exhibition of 1851, an association was formed for the purpose of promoting a cheap and uniform system of international postage for letters and printed papers, and a large committee was appointed, which has had the subject under consideration. A few days since, several of these gentlemen called upon me as a deputation from the general committee, for the purpose of discussing the question. Lord Ashburton is the chairman of the general committee, and was to have been the chairman of the deputation, but was prevented from attending by illness. The deputation consisted of Sir John Boileau, Sir John Burgoyne, William Brown, Esq., M. P., H. Cole, Esq., and several other gentlemen of high character and standing. They stated that the system of cheap ocean-postage must begin in the United States; that when commenced it would, in their judgment, be adopted here from necessity, as, in case of refusal on the part of this Government, all the correspondence between the two countries would be transmitted by American vessels, — since no Government in the present state of opinion would probably wish to renew the severe measures pursued towards the *Washington*, and that their efforts would now be given to effecting a cheap international postage between the United Kingdom and the United States.

I will not dwell further upon this subject, but close with expressing the hope that at the present session of Congress the question may be brought before it, and that in its wisdom it may adopt such a measure as will conduce to the best interests of our country.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

To the Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

VIII.

THE CONDITION OF IRELAND.

MR. LAWRENCE TO MR. WEBSTER.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
2nd December, 1851.

SIR, — I avail myself of the earliest convenient opportunity since my return from Ireland, to lay before you the result of my observations while there.

I left London on the 11th of September, and proceeded by Holyhead to Dublin, where I remained two days. From thence I went by railway to Galway, a very old and much depressed town. I visited the harbor at that place. It is easy of access, and can at a small expense be made perfectly safe for ships of any size at anchor. From Galway I returned to Athlone, situated in the centre of the island, and took a steamer thence down the Shannon to Killaloe, it being the first time that the flag of the United States had been unfurled on that noble river. From Killaloe I went by coach to Limerick, a very pleasant town, which has suffered severely from famine and other causes within a few years past. I was invited by the city authorities to examine the harbor, and to descend the river to its mouth. This I did, stopping at the harbor of Foynes, which is protected on every side by natural barriers, and is admirably adapted for the security of ships. After returning to Limerick I proceeded to Killarney, a distance of about seventy miles, and then passed over the mountains and lakes, so justly celebrated for their beauty. The mountain road to Glengariff is an extraordinary work of engineering. From Glengariff I crossed Bantry Bay in an open boat to Bantry. This bay is more striking than any I have seen in Ireland, and offers a good harbor with secure anchorage for almost any number

of ships. From Bantry I went on to Cork, — the second town, I think, in population, in Ireland. I passed down the river to the Cove of Cork, to which the name of Queenstown has been lately given. This cove is easy of access, and is perhaps, *at present*, the best harbor in the United Kingdom. The four harbors above mentioned are all good, — better, either of them, than any in England. I was unable to visit Valencia, which is said to equal, if not surpass, any place in Ireland in its advantages for the accommodation of ships, and which is, in addition, nearer to the United States than either I have mentioned. A large number of admiralty charts and reports, and individual accounts and descriptions of these various harbors, were placed in my hands, with a view to their being transmitted to the United States. I have sent them all to the President of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of New York, for the use of all persons desiring to avail themselves of the information they contain.

The social and political condition of Ireland has become an exceedingly interesting question, especially to the Government and people of the United States.

The island contains about 33,000 square miles, and possesses natural resources scarcely equalled by the same amount of territory in any other part of the globe with which I am acquainted. The soil in general is excellent. A considerable portion of it is remarkably rich and well watered. The river Shannon runs through nearly the centre of the island, and is navigable by steam for about two hundred miles. Excellent water-power exists in many localities, capable of being brought into use at a small expense. There is an abundance of the most substantial building materials, such as stone, lime, clay for bricks, etc., and there are also minerals of various and useful kinds, and rich bog fuel of incalculable value. The climate is temperate, and admirably suited for the rearing of horses, horned cattle, sheep, and hogs. It has also been found, until lately, equally favorable to the existence of man. In fact, I do not know any other country of so small an area that possesses so remarkable a physical formation and such wonderful facilities for the production of food and other articles to supply the wants of man.

The island is almost in the form of an amphitheatre, nearly surrounded by mountains and hills, from which issue the great number of streams that meet the traveller's eye. With all this

natural productive power, we behold the population rapidly diminishing. The natural and ordinary increase within the last ten years should have been, at the least calculation, 1,000,000 persons. Instead of this, there has been an actual decrease of 1,600,000, — exhibiting the appalling fact of a loss of population of 2,600,000; greater than the whole population of Pennsylvania; equal to that of New York, and nearly equal to that of the whole of New England.

The prominent causes that have produced these astounding results are the following: —

I place first in importance the fact that Ireland is a conquered country, governed by the conquerors. Hence the legislation of the British Parliament has usually had reference to the especial interests of Great Britain, and not to those of Ireland as an integral part of the United Kingdom.

The difficulties and quarrels growing out of the religious differences in the country have also had important influences on its condition. The Church of England is established and supported by law, — while three fourths of the people profess the Catholic faith; and tithes for the support of the Established Church are levied upon the property of all alike.

The narrow system of the ecclesiastical government of the Romish Church in Ireland, and the want of charity and good feeling in each great denomination towards the others have, until lately, prevented any public provision for the education of the people; and hence an ignorance among them that would hardly have been looked for in the British dominions in the 19th century. Absenteeism, or the residence abroad of a large number of the great landholders, has proved a serious and, in some cases, an intolerable evil. Many landholders are now suffering a severe retribution in the reckless and mischievous conduct it has occasioned. Considerable tracts of land have, in consequence, been let to lessees, by them underlet in moderate quantities, again underlet, and so perhaps a third, fourth, or fifth time; the quantity each time reduced, until many estates are subdivided in lots of from an eighth or a quarter of an acre to a few acres. The persons who become the landlords and masters in these cases are called *middlemen*. By their underlettings, they have so subdivided the land that the spade has taken the place of the plough, and field-culture has been abandoned. These small tracts are

planted with the potato, upon which the tenants become dependent for subsistence, while the pig, almost always found with this large class of Irishmen, is reared for the payment of rent. When the potato crop failed, the most numerous class of the Irish peasantry were left destitute of food, as bread and meat had never constituted any portion of their subsistence. There were millions of people there who had lived entirely on the potato.

The manufactures of Ireland which had existed before the Union were, by subsequent legislation, discouraged, and finally destroyed, with the exception of linen, the seat of which is in the North. It soon became an agricultural country, with a market in England. As late as 1834 it exported here to the amount of £17,394,813, while the imports were only £15,337,097. In 1845 the value of the grain and cattle alone exported to England amounted to £10,000,000. Now the imports of Ireland exceed her exports, and the amount of food that has been introduced there is quite extraordinary. The crops this year have been abandoned, yet they have imported a large quantity of flour and Indian meal. Oats are and will continue to be an article of export to England, while the cultivation of wheat has diminished, and will probably be abandoned.

As long as the British market was secured, the emigration was moderate as compared with the present time. The corn and provision laws were repealed in 1846. Since that time Ireland has been on the decline. The repeal of those laws and the consequent opening of the markets of the United Kingdom to the world appear to have given the finishing blow to its prosperity. That sudden and permanent measure was beginning to cause distress in 1847, which was greatly aggravated by the failure of the potato crop that year. Tens of thousands of poor creatures died for want of the subsistence they were unable to obtain.

From these various causes the poor-rates have for many years past become very onerous in many districts, and positively oppressive in most of the parishes. There seems to be a slender prospect at present of any permanent relief from this burden. The most striking modern objects which meet the eye of a stranger in Ireland are the almshouses. They are on a very large scale, and occupy prominent positions in every Union (which is a collection of a number of parishes), and in every locality where man is to be found.

On the 31st of March, 1841, there were in Ireland, according to the census at that date, 8,100,000 inhabitants. On the 31st March, 1850, there were but 6,500,000. One naturally asks what has become of the people? A Roman Catholic clergyman told me that in the year 1845 there were in his parish twelve thousands persons, and now, said he, I have but six thousand. What has become of them? I said. He replied that a large number had died, and that the remainder had emigrated. He further said that in 1845 he had eight marriages where now he had but one. I believe this is only an epitome of much of the history of the country during the same period.

Such are briefly some of the many causes that have produced the present results in Ireland. I wish to say, in addition, a few words on a subject most interesting to the United States, — emigration.

I had an opportunity not only to view the country, but to see and converse with all classes; and I can say with truth that all the humbler or working people, and many in comfortable circumstances, desire to go to the United States. Large numbers of able-bodied men and women were leaving the land of their birth without a pang. Many Irish feel that they have not been dealt with fairly by the British, and that they still are an oppressed people. They entertain the idea that the United States is a land of promise, where they may be prosperous and happy. Their most sanguine expectations rarely fail to be realized there.

The emigration from Ireland the present year has been composed of a much better class than has usually gone to America. From my observation I am inclined to think it will increase rather than diminish. Among the strongest reasons in favor of the continuance of the emigration is the almost incredible difference between the wages of labor in the United States and the wages in Ireland. Able-bodied agricultural laborers were paid, during the last harvest in the south and west of the island, from sixpence to eightpence, and in some instances tenpence a day. At this season and during the winter thousands of men can be hired at fourpence to sixpence a day. Men selected for their strength and intelligence receive, in summer, for working in the construction of railways, tenpence and twelvepence a day. The same man would receive in the United States four shillings sterling a day. More work, however, is done by an Irishman in the

United States than in his native country, in consequence of his being better fed, better clothed, and better lodged. So long as the United States are within ten days of Ireland, the emigration will continue until the wages of labor in the two countries shall approximate nearer to each other. I apprehend there will be no very serious reduction in the wages of labor in the United States for the present. Hence emigration will probably continue from Ireland, till a large proportion of the able-bodied men shall have been withdrawn. Nor will the emigration hereafter be confined to Ireland. The wages of farm laborers in England are from fourteen pence to twenty pence a day, or from seven to ten shillings a week, varying in different counties. The average rate for England is said to be rather under nine shillings a week. In all cases throughout the United Kingdom the laborer supports himself at the rate of wages I have stated, which are in sterling currency.

The prices of wheat are too low to remunerate the grower in Ireland, and less breadth of land is planted each succeeding year. I have little doubt that it will be abandoned as a general crop. The country is in a state of transition. Already land to the value of more than £3,000,000 has been sold under the "Encumbered Estates Act," and there are yet to be sold under the hammer estates valued at £15,000,000.

I think from the present indications it is destined to become a grazing country. Horned cattle, sheep, and horses, with some oats, barley, and potatoes, are to be its staple products. If it were to be entirely turned into pasture, only a small number of people would be required to manage the stock grazing the land. England also is destined to grow less wheat and more sheep and horned cattle. Already the third quality of wheat lands has been laid down in grass.

The migration of persons from their native soil in such numbers is something new in modern history; and the effect it may produce upon the United Kingdom, should it continue, is yet to be solved. Many intelligent persons, both in Ireland and England, rejoice at it, and express the hope that millions more may follow those who have gone. Others of quite as much intelligence and sagacity entertain fears lest the emigration should be carried too far. From the returns I have seen, it would appear that the emigration into the United States the present year will not be less

than 450,000 persons. I think also, in the present disturbed condition of Europe, we may look for a large and continued emigration from the Continent. What the effect is to be upon our institutions and national character is an important problem, that can be worked out only by time. Liberal provisions for universal education are the only sure safeguards against the dangers which, as many fear, will result from this cause.

There is one encouraging feature in the present condition of Ireland, destined, perhaps, to redeem that unhappy country, — the national schools. These are found in every part of the land. Already there are enrolled 512,000 children, who receive daily instruction without reference to religious faith. These schools cannot but elevate the character of the people, and diffuse an intelligence amongst them at no distant day such as must work an entire change in their habits and manners. In many localities the schools are of a very high order, and it would be a blessing to England if the same system were introduced there. The children I saw in them, whether pure Celt or mixed race, struck me as quite equal in intellectual acuteness to any I have ever seen.

The northern portions of the island possess a more intelligent population than the middle, southern, and western parts, and are of course more prosperous. I had intended to visit them, but my time being limited, I was forced to leave them for another journey.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

The Honorable DANIEL WEBSTER,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

IX.

THE CLOSING OF THE MISSION.

MR. LAWRENCE TO MR. WEBSTER.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, 30th September, 1852.

SIR, — Mr. Ingersoll having arrived in London, I shall to-day transmit my final accounts to the Department, and close my active connection with this Mission. The Queen being in Scotland, I have not yet presented my letter of recall, but wait only to know her pleasure in regard to it.

When you entered upon the duties of your office I addressed you at length, in my Despatch No. 71, respecting the business pending in this Legation. The termination of my official connection with the Government seems to me a fit time for a similar review, and it may perhaps aid the Department in its instructions to my successor.

The first and most important matters referred to in that Despatch are the negotiations relative to Central America, respecting which there has been little done in this Legation since its date. When I came to London, I was charged by the President to ascertain the views of the British Government on that question. They were unknown at Washington, except so far as reported by Mr. Rives, who had been instructed, on his way to Paris, to see Lord Palmerston. But they were supposed to be contrary to those entertained by the President and his advisers. I found Lord Palmerston still in error as to the policy of the United States, notwithstanding the assurances of Mr. Rives. At length, after frequent and frank interviews with him, and after the interchange of several notes, I addressed an official note to him on the 14th of December, 1849, suggesting a plan of settle-

ment of the whole question, which received the full approval of the President, and, though never officially replied to, it was made the basis of the subsequent adjustment. The negotiations were soon after transferred to Washington, where the presence of Mr. Molina and of Mr. Marcoleta made it more easy to conduct them. Since then, with the exception of the proposition of Messrs. Fox and Henderson for a joint survey of the Escoces route, the correspondence relative to Colonel Child's survey and that relative to the outrage on the *Prometheus*,[1] I am not aware that anything of importance on this subject has been sent to this Legation from the Department.

Another subject then pending here is not yet brought to a conclusion. I refer to the negotiations for the execution of the 12th Article of the Postal Convention of 1848. In my Despatch No. 83 I reviewed the history of the negotiations up to that time, and expressed my opinion that, in the event of the continued rejection of our just claims by this Government, we ought to give the notice to annul that Convention. The rejection which I anticipated followed. This Government showed itself hostile to a settlement on just terms. I had the satisfaction of finding my course approved by the Postmaster General. But unfortunately the approval was not coupled with an authority to give the notice, and no advance has been made. In connection with this subject I have several times pressed upon the Government the propriety of taking some steps for the reduction of the rates of ocean postage. Although I have heard nothing in reply, I am led to hope, from the manifest policy of such a course, that the subject has occupied the attention of the proper Departments, and that something will eventually be done.

In accordance with instructions from the Department, I urged upon this Government the abolition or reduction of the dues for the construction and maintenance of lighthouses. The application was not successful, but at the same time it was not met by a positive refusal. And I am not without hope, since other Foreign Powers, as well as British shipowners, are united with us, that at an early day a way will be found for effecting this reform. The lighthouse on the Bahamas, for which I was in-

[1] She was fired upon by H. M. Brig *Express*, to enforce the collection of certain dues levied at Greytown. The act was afterwards disavowed by the British admiral on the station, and apologized for by Lord Granville. — H. A. H.

structed to ask, has not yet been granted. I have from time to time in my interviews urged it upon this Government, which I think will decide to erect it.

At your suggestion I addressed you on the coinage of the United States, which seemed to me somewhat defective. I was gratified to learn from other sources that my views were esteemed of sufficient value to be transmitted to Congress, where I hope they were not found wholly without use.

The subject of our commerce with the coast of Africa, and the necessity of adopting further measures to protect and increase it, have also occupied me, as I have witnessed the British efforts in that quarter. My despatches of the 9th of January and the 11th of September, 1851, relative thereto, have undoubtedly had such consideration given to them as it was supposed they deserved. But, having the opportunity, I cannot forbear from again expressing my belief in the soundness of the views they contain, and my hope that this important subject may receive attention from the Government.

I have endeavored on one or two occasions to put you in possession of the views of this Government relative to Cuban affairs. I should have been glad to have been kept in like manner acquainted with the negotiations at Washington on this subject. It is an inconvenience to a Minister to be without information on important political questions, about which he is presumed to be kept advised, and to be forced to rely for such information upon the Government to which he is accredited.

I have not failed to give my attention to the various claims against the British Government with which I have been charged. Those which had been presented and argued by my predecessors, I could only urge in conversations and personal interviews. The cases of the *Jones* and of the *Tigris* and *Sea-Mew* have been repeatedly discussed by me both with Lord Granville and Lord Palmerston. The claims which first came into the Legation during my mission (the *Louisa*, the *John*, and the *Louisa Beaton*) have been presented for consideration, and the first and third rejected, while no answer has been received to the second. But Lord Granville, during his brief and successful administration of the Foreign Office, proposed a joint commission for adjusting all these claims. The plan seemed to me to be feasible in principle but capable of improvement in details, and I accordingly trans-

mitted it to the Department on the 18th February, 1852, with suggestions to that effect. To this I have received no relpy. I again venture to suggest that these claims are, many of them, of long standing and growing less valuable with delay, and whether it would not be wise to come to some determination about Lord Granville's proposition at an early day.

I beg leave again to bring before you the proposition of the Bavarian Government, preferred through the Baron de Cetto, to conclude an extradition treaty with the United States, and to respectfully suggest the propriety of giving an answer to it, since it now plainly appears that the Baron Gerolt has mistaken his powers in that respect.

I am not aware that anything remains to be done through this Legation with reference to the action of the United States upon the question of the La Plata waters. Your answer of the 10th of July was decisive in the matter. The claim of Peru to sovereignty over the Lobos Islands was, at the request of the Chargé d'Affaires of that country at this Court, laid before you in my Despatch 194, together with the Parliamentary and Documentary papers accompanying it.

I have kept you constantly acquainted with the views of Her Majesty's Government upon the subject of the fisheries so far as they have been communicated to me, and have taken the liberty of coupling with them my own opinion, to a certain extent. It has given me pleasure to know that my course has met the approval of the President; and I am particularly happy to hear that, as the result of my action, the hope is entertained that "things may be allowed to go on as they have gone on until the whole subject can be reviewed thoroughly and dispassionately." [1]

[1] Mr. Lawrence, in common with nearly all the leading American statesmen of that day, appreciated the difficulties and dangers which surrounded the fishery question as between the United States and Great Britain, and, for this and other reasons, he was heartily in favor of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, under which, it was then hoped, this question had been permanently settled. In a letter to Lord Clarendon, dated Boston, April 5, 1855, he thus expressed his estimate of the value of this treaty: —

"Having had for many years a strong desire to accomplish the important work which was consummated at Washington last year, and having been consulted upon that question before the negotiation was finished with Lord Elgin, I have taken the freedom to write a few lines to your Lordship, and to say that I deem the treaty fair and just to all the parties interested in it. The Provinces will at once feel the

In my Despatch No. 183 I enclosed a copy of a part of a letter from the Attorney General of Ireland touching the necessity of a further extradition treaty between the United States and the United Kingdom. I hope this subject will receive the attention of the Department. At present the most frequent cases of dishonesty go unpunished, as they are not covered by the Treaty of 1842.

I have endeavored to keep you constantly informed of the political condition of this country and the state of parties. In reviewing my correspondence on this subject, I am gratified to perceive that my information has been generally correct.

I cannot close this Despatch without renewing my testimony to the inadequacy of the provision made by Congress for this Legation. The salaries are too small and the duties more than can be performed by the force allowed. The facilities for travelling have become so great that many more Americans visit London than formerly, most of whom come to the Legation to see the Minister, to obtain passports, to get introductions to the many prominent objects of interest, and frequently simply to see the face of a countryman in the midst of a world of strangers. The Exhibition year will be hereafter no exceptional year. The American world have found that a journey to Europe is not a difficult thing, and they will continue to come in increasing numbers. I have found great pleasure in the society of those whom I have met, and have been happy in being able to render them aid in their various objects and pursuits.

I was especially charged by the President, on leaving the United States, to cultivate the most friendly relations with the Government of the United Kingdom. This has been my constant aim. To this end I have mingled freely with people of all ranks; and I can say with truth, in closing my connection with the Legation, that the relations between the United States and Great Britain have never in my judgment been so cordial, or on so firm a basis of good understanding, as at the present moment. I have

beneficial result of the treaty, inasmuch as all of them are now availing themselves of trade to a large extent with this country. The fact of the operation of the treaty over a smaller surface of territory than that of the United States is a reason why its effects should be felt at once in the Provinces. There was considerable opposition to the ratification of the treaty in the Senate; yet I cannot doubt, at the end of one year all parties here, as well as in the Provinces, will look upon the measure as one of a beneficial character." — H. A. H.

found every Administration of this Government animated with a desire to preserve this happy state of things, and every class vying with every other in manifestations of respect and good-will.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

The Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

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